

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

No. 30,812

PARIS, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, MARCH 13-14, 1982

Established 1887

Salvadoran Rebels Turning Sights on Economic Targets

By Jim Hoagland
Washington Post Service

SAN SALVADOR — The helicopter lifts straight to a height of 4,000 feet, presumably beyond the range of the guerrilla rifle fire on the mountain slopes below, and within seconds the vulnerability of a small nation at war comes into view.

Two 50-foot steel towers, painted orange to alert pilots landing at the nearby Ilopango airport, lie tumbled on their sides like tokens overturned on a Monopoly board. The electricity transmission towers have been toppled by dynamite charges placed by leftist guerrillas who have now added El Salvador's economic infrastructure to the list of targets in their war against the military-civilian junta that rules here.

Seen from this helicopter carrying the national Energy Commission's senior engineers and managers on an inspection trip over their power lines, El Salvador's economic war resembles an elaborate cat-and-mouse game.

Guerrilla Strategy

Each of the towers will cost the Energy Commission around \$15,000 to replace, a sum that looks like a more impressive drain on the national treasury when multiplied by the 275 times the guerrillas have blown towers in their infrastructure campaign. But the commission's executive director, Francisco E. Granadino, reports that quick repair work and an inventive back-routing system have kept such attacks from shutting down electricity generation to El Salvador's cities — so far, at least.

"They have knocked out enough towers that they could shut the system down now if they wanted to," Mr. Granadino said. "If they don't do it — maybe they don't want to get all our customers mad at them. Who knows?"

Intended to be a newcomer during this quick helicopter trip, the surprisingly small, scale, and mounting tempo of El Salvador's war at first glance look as if they revolve more around such things as electricity towers and the competition for least-hated status more than around imperialist conspiracies or detailed Kremlin hit lists of nations.

The guerrilla strategy appears to be to try to bleed the national economy and wear down the morale of civilians and soldiers on the government's side rather than to try for all-out destruction and chaos.

Whether this is because the Marxist insurgents hope to inherit a functioning economy and a relatively healthy private sector, or because they do not want to turn public opinion in the cities against them, is a matter of debate among military commanders, diplomats and others in the capital.

Attacks on El Salvador's power system, its telecommunication and transportation networks, and an earlier wave of kidnappings and urban terror campaigns that drove many businessmen and new investment out of the country have cost El Salvador \$500 million by some estimates. The guerrilla campaign and a climate of fear fanned by violent excesses by rightist forces have cut economic activity 30 percent.

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French President François Mitterrand, met with President Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. at the

White House during a 10-hour visit Friday to Washington. Seated between Mr. Mitterrand and Mr. Haig is an interpreter.

Madrid Talks Recess Amid Acrimony

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

MADRID — After 16 months of deliberations, the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe adjourned Friday for eight months with East and West at loggerheads over Poland.

Taking advantage of the last day of the conference, which is supposed to reconvene here on Nov. 9, both the Soviet Union and the United States and its allies let off their ideological salvos that reflected widely varying interpretations of the 1975 Helsinki accords that have been under review.

Calling Madrid "a stage of lost opportunities," the Soviet dele-

gation in a press statement blamed "the U.S. delegation and those delegations of those NATO countries which have supported the U.S. destructive obstructionist line" for the stalemate here.

The Soviet declaration, echoed in a closed plenary session, suggested that the West was being led "upon the path of cold war, the path of destroying everything positive that has been achieved over the years of détente, of the life of the process initiated in Helsinki." Clearly alluding to Poland, the Russians accused the United States of trying to dictate what kind of "internal and foreign policy" some states should follow.

Striking a note of unanimity that has only rarely been upset during the Madrid talks, the NATO nations blamed Moscow and the Warsaw military regime for betraying the commitments to the peaceful evolution of society and a respect for human rights that are enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act.

Addressing the plenary session on behalf of the 10 European Economic Community countries, René Panis, the Belgian deputy, said that the Polish regime's offer of foreign exile to arrested Solidarity activists was "odious blackmail."

"Can exile truly be the only solution that the Polish authorities

hereafter envisage?" he asked. "This would be a serious violation of the dispositions of the Final Act and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Man."

Max M. Kampelman, the U.S. delegate, said that as the conference adjourned delegates were "fully conscious that the Helsinki process is in danger." He said that since the Madrid meeting began at least 248 political arrests had occurred in the Soviet Union, including those of Russians who had tried to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords.

"Six decades after a revolution that promised bread and free-

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Reagan Confers With Mitterrand Latin American Differences Mark Talks in Washington

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Reagan and President François Mitterrand of France said Friday they talked frankly about their differences in policy toward Central America, but there was no indication that either leader persuaded the other to change position.

The Reagan administration is angry over France's recent agreement to sell \$20 million in arms to Nicaragua, which Washington contends is the chief weapons supplier for the Salvadoran rebels. And the United States is supporting the civilian-military junta in El Salvador against a rebel force that France says should be recognized as a legitimate political entity.

Mr. Reagan called the session, which lasted nearly three hours, "a very unusual friend-to-friend meeting," but left no doubt that he had expressed displeasure with French policies in Central America.

Using diplomatic parlance, the U.S. president said, "I believe President Mitterrand now has a better understanding of United States policy objectives in that troubled region. Our discussion on this subject was particularly candid and thorough."

And as Mr. Mitterrand described the talks, it was clear that the two presidents were searching for something positive to say despite fundamental differences in approach.

"Our first duty is to fight against poverty and the exploitation of human beings and the domination on the part of bloody dic-

tatorships," the Socialist president said. "We must work to find the way of furthering the cause of democratic government, and there, there is something we have in common and that leads to a meeting of the minds between us."

"We should do everything that can enable the democratic powers of the West to achieve a better understanding and be able to give more assistance to the peoples that are rebelling against their fate."

Mr. Reagan commented: "President Mitterrand shares my concern that the failure to promote the evolution of democratic government in this region would have the most serious consequences. The principles and goals that we share suggest that we will be able to work together on this problem in the months ahead."

A joint briefing had been scheduled following the farewell remarks to summarize the talks for reporters. But shortly after Mr. Mitterrand left the White House, the briefing was canceled because of "scheduling difficulties."

June Summits in Europe

Mr. Mitterrand had proposed the visit, partly to discuss arrangements for an economic summit of seven industrialized nations and a NATO summit, both to be held in Europe in June.

The French, along with much of the rest of Western Europe, are unhappy about Mr. Reagan's economic policies, which they complain are contributing to a Europe-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Private Businessmen in Nicaragua Get Financial Break From Regime

By Christopher Dickey
Washington Post Service

MANAGUA — In the last few weeks, the ruling Sandinista government has devised a series of financial initiatives designed to reconcile their Marxist-oriented government with the business sector, which still dominates the economy.

Sandinista leaders say they want peace with their opponents here as a matter of principle and also partly because they need unity in the face of mounting U.S. hostility.

"To defend the nation against any aggression, it is a thousand times better to have the nation united. We are all Nicaraguans — COSEP, the Sandinistas, the politi-

cal parties. All of us," said Sergio Ramirez, a member of the government's three-man executive junta. COSEP is an acronym for the Superior Council of Private Enterprise.

"I believe it when they say they don't want to hurt the private sector," said William Baez, executive director of COSEP. "But it's not because of their ideology; it's because they don't want to hurt the country."

"If this works, then the mixed economy is a reality here, which is what we want," said Alfredo Cesar, the Sandinista-appointed central bank president. But Mr. Cesar, widely considered a moder-

ate, cautioned, "I don't have anything more to say to give to the private sector. I've given them credit, foreign exchange, restored their debt on really good terms and now I'm giving them more credit to the dollar."

Mr. Baez, a dairyman, summed up the concrete aspects of the Sandinista initiative as "very positive" even if the general tone remains "produce, produce, but stay out of politics."

Enrique Dreyfus, president of COSEP, made a distinction between politics, which he sees as the route of those who want to take power, and policy, which he suggested.

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Joint War Exercises Set to Open in Poland

The Associated Press

WARSAW — Soviet, East German and Polish military forces will open a week of joint exercises in northwestern Poland on Saturday, three months to the day after martial law was declared; the state-run news media announced Friday.

Gen. Eugeniusz Molczyk, deputy commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact forces and Poland's deputy defense minister, will direct the war games, the news agency PAP said.

The operation, assigned the code name "Friendship '82," will be the first of its kind since martial law was declared Dec. 13. Neither the size nor the exact location of the exercises was disclosed.

Threats to Social Peace

Veteran observers said the operation would most likely be conducted in the Baltic province of Szczecin and would represent an unequivocal display of force intended to dampen any notions of a spring uprising against the martial-law regime.

Slogans against martial law on walls in the Baltic port city of Gdansk have proclaimed, "The winter is yours but the spring is ours."

PAP said "tactical-operational exercises" were planned. The reference to tactical indicated the operation would not approach the scale of the Soviet war games held near Poland's borders last September, during the national congress of the now-suspended independent labor movement Solidarity. About 100,000 soldiers, sailors and pilots took part in those maneuvers.

Ranking Polish officials warned Friday of persistent threats to social peace and the likelihood of further economic dislocation.

Labor Minister Stanislaw Ciolek said "a sharp political struggle," characterized by "hostile leaflets" and other propaganda, is being waged by foes of the martial-law regime.

The aim is "stirring up hatred against the party and the authorities," he told Communist Party activists in Poznan, PAP reported. Mr. Ciolek added that "if anyone today is asking the question, will there be a Solidarity ... as it was before Dec. 13, he shows he has understood nothing."

Leaflets Distributed

Solidarity was suspended and its leaders either seized or went into hiding after martial law was imposed. But on occasion, leaflets purporting to be from Solidarity activists have emerged from the underground.

The newspaper Zycie Warszawy reported that at some internment centers, leaflets have been distributed and posters briefly displayed that "slander the system."

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who as Polish leader imposed martial law, told the government's commission for economic reform in Warsaw that further economic dislocation, including plant closings, is unavoidable.

"We cannot escape a [temporary] reduction or stoppage of production in some factories" because of "an acute shortage of many primary materials," PAP quoted Gen. Jaruzelski as saying.

Hostile Forces

Stefan Olszowski, a Communist Party hard-liner, told a meeting in Siedlce, east of Warsaw, that "expulsion of hostile forces" from critical sectors of the economy was necessary. "The big task for the party is to restore its place in the life of the working class and recover workers for the party," he said.

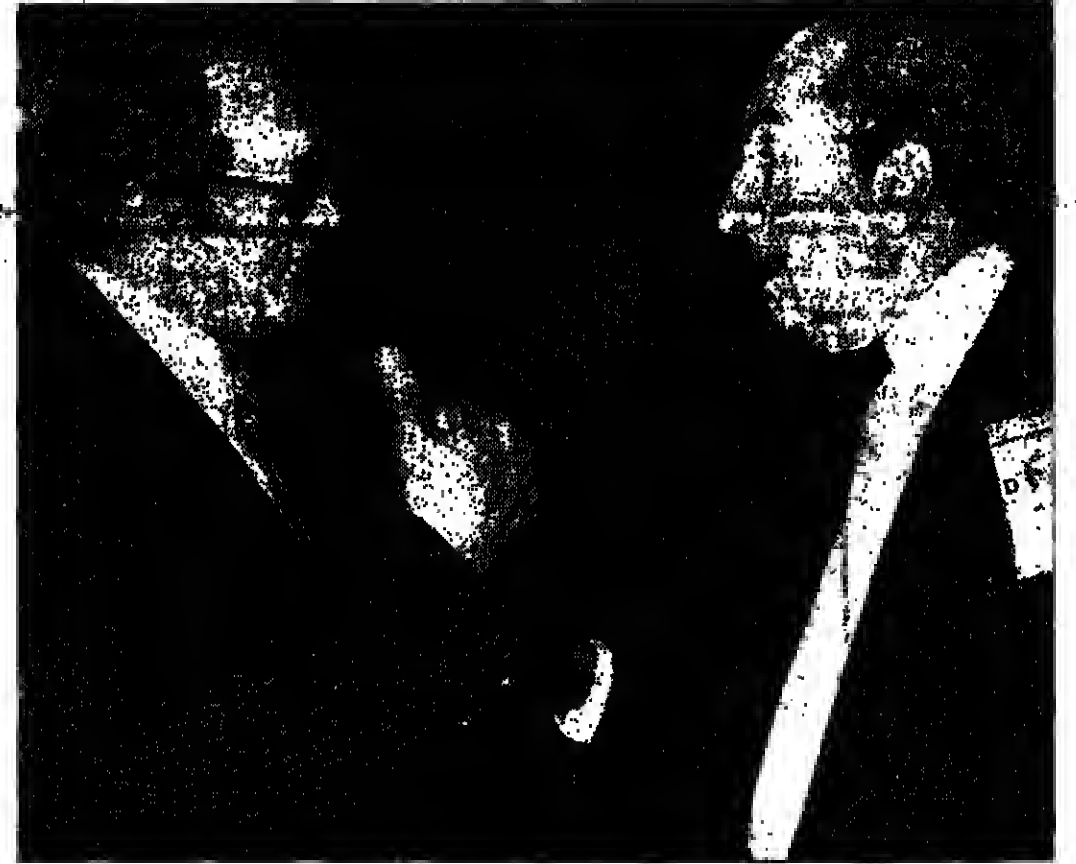
Thousands of Poles have left the party in recent years and, in the first weeks of the military crackdown, the party retreated into almost total silence.

U.S. May Ease Sanctions

WASHINGTON (LAT) — The Reagan administration is considering relaxing its economic sanctions against the government of Poland enough to provide feed grain and spare tractor parts for Polish farmers devastated by the suspension of U.S. assistance.

Lawrence S. Eagleburger, under-secretary of state for political affairs, said Thursday that he favored serious consideration by State Department officials, he said, especially since it has been put forth by a congressional delegation just back from Poland. The delegation said that Poland's poultry industry has been hit by large-scale slaughters because of feed shortages and two-thirds of the country's flocks could be wiped out.

Mr. Eagleburger indicated that the matter is being treated with some urgency because Poland could soon lose a large segment of its poultry industry if feed grain does not become available.



The U.S. delegate to the European Security Conference, Max M. Kampelman, right, and the Soviet deputy delegate, S.A. Kondrashev, talked Friday as they left the Madrid conference hall.

Times of London Editor Resigns; Murdoch's Views Reported at Issue

The Associated Press

LONDON — Publisher Rupert Murdoch announced Friday that London Times editor Harold Evans has resigned at the publisher's request after a year in the job. No reason was given.

Mr. Murdoch's statement said: "At no point has there been any difference, stated or otherwise, between Mr. Evans and myself about the policy of the paper."

Earlier Friday a Times assistant editor, Anthony Holden, said Mr. Murdoch wanted Mr. Evans out because he resisted the proprietor's rightist political views.

Mr. Holden said Mr. Murdoch is close to the White House and wants The Times to be more friendly to the U.S. administration on controversial issues like El Salvador.

Successor Named

In the statement, Mr. Murdoch said Mr. Evans will be succeeded at the helm of the newspaper by the deputy editor, Charles Douglas-Home.

Mr. Murdoch, who was in New York, issued his statement hours after Mr. Evans confirmed he had been asked to quit and supporters had said he was hanging on to his job with the backing of the independent directors of the papers.

"golden handshake" — or resignation settlement — than he had originally been offered. The terms were not disclosed.

Mr. Murdoch's statement said the six independent national directors of the 197-year-old daily approved Mr. Evans' resignation as well as the appointment of Mr. Douglas-Home to succeed him. Mr. Douglas-Home is a nephew of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, a wealthy landowner and former Conservative prime minister.

The directors were appointed to Times Newspapers Ltd. to guarantee the editorial independence of The Times and its stablemate, The Sunday Times, when Mr. Murdoch bought them a year ago.

Mr. Evans was editing The Sunday Times when Mr. Murdoch bought the company from the Thomson organization of Toronto, and it was the new owner who moved Mr. Evans to the editor's chair at The Times.

Last month, Mr. Evans won an Editor of the Year award from a television panel for his handling of the newspaper, which gained 20,000 extra daily sales in the last six months of 1981, raising the circulation to 297,787.

Mr. Murdoch's statement was issued in London by Arthur Britten, director of corporate relations for News International, Mr. Murdoch's parent company which also owns the tabloid daily Sun and the Sunday News of the World.

Fleet Street, London's newspaper row, had buzzed for two days with rumors about Mr. Evans' resignation.



Harold Evans

He told reporters Friday morning that it was true he had been asked to quit, but he would not say why.

Times staffers had described the atmosphere at the paper as very tense.

Mr. Murdoch had said he would shut down the newspapers because of losses estimated this year at \$27 million. But he has announced that the future of The Times and The Sunday Times was secure after un-

INSIDE

U.S. Price Drop

U.S. wholesale prices fell last month for the first time in six years. Page 11.

Japanese GNP

Japan's economy shrank at an annual rate of 3.5 percent in the three months ending last December, the first quarterly decline since 1975. Page 11.

Bravo, Duce

The huge exhibition in Milan of art and culture in Italy during the 1930s raises questions about life in the country today and offers a chance to reevaluate Mussolini's period, when — as the Italians say — "We were better off when we were worse off." Page 7W.

Bills for Aid To Caribbean Due in U.S.

Administration Aides Affirm Commitment

By Clyde H. Farnsworth

WASHINGTON — Reagan administration officials say they will present legislation early next week to put into effect trade and investment incentives for economic development in the Caribbean basin. They said the White House remains committed to the initiative as a key part of its Caribbean strategy.

Delays in submitting the legislation, together with the administration's recent attention to a military buildup in Nicaragua, have raised questions in Congress about the administration's resolve to deal with the underlying economic problems of the area and its 40 million inhabitants.

In a speech last month, President Reagan offered \$350 million of additional economic aid in this fiscal year for struggling countries of the region, tax incentives for Caribbean investment by U.S. companies, and trade preferences permitting more Caribbean products to enter the United States free of customs duties.

The legislation to carry out these objectives was to have reached Capitol Hill by early March, and several legislative panels have scheduled hearings beginning next Wednesday, when William E. Brock, the U.S. trade representative, was to start the administration testimony with an appearance before the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee.

"The legislation keeps being promised and kept not arriving, and so we naturally wonder whether everyone isn't too busy making war," the staff director of one key House panel said.

The staff director of a Senate panel added: "Such delays are not unusual, but if the main energies of the administration are directed toward military approaches, it could be awfully hard to get the economic package through Congress. Members will not vote easily for aid and trade concessions without a strong push from the White House."

A number of legislators believe the program represents a form of insurance policy for a volatile region. Their main concern now, aides said, is that the administration may be having second thoughts.

Officials from the State Department and Mr. Brock's office insisted that there had been no deflection of interest in the economic program and that delays in submitting the proposals were technical. "From our first reading we have found that the program enjoys a certain amount of broad support," said Robert D. Hormats, assistant secretary of state for economic and business affairs. "There has been no slackening in our resolve to get it through."

Mr. Hormats and Stephen M. Lande, assistant trade representative, said they had heard from companies exploring investment opportunities in the region.

Business groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have endorsed the program. But single-industry associations, representing, for example, domestic sugar growers, have signaled opposition.

The program would permit higher imports of sugar from the Dominican Republic, Panama and Guatemala, and provide duty-free access for such light-manufacturing output as footwear, consumer electronics and electronic goods and auto parts. The major exclusion is textiles.



QADHAFI IN VIENNA — Col. Moamer Qadhafi of Libya emerged in a white robe from the mosque at the Vienna Islamic Center after praying for 30 minutes Friday. The Libyan leader, on a four-day official visit to Austria, canceled other engagements to visit the mosque.

Main Colombian Guerrilla Group Steps Up Violence as Vote Nears

By Luis Carino

BOGOTA — Colombia's parliamentary elections Sunday may be overshadowed in importance by a psychological battle between the liberal government and leftist guerrillas who have been urging voters to abstain. About 9,000 national, provincial and municipal seats are at stake in the voting.

Colombia's main guerrilla group, the M-19, has stepped up its campaign of violence recently.

Since the overthrow in 1957 of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, Colombia's only military dictator this century, voting turnouts in the country have ranged from 33 to 57 percent.

In previous elections, the reluctance to vote has been blamed largely on the coalition agreement devised by the Liberal and Conservative parties to end a virtual civil war that left about 300,000 people dead in the 1950s.

The two major parties, still bound by a constitutionally sanctioned system of power-sharing, regard Sunday's polling as a primary election that will determine their candidates for the presidential elections in May.

A car-bombing on the lawn of the presidential palace Wednesday, which killed a bystander, was the apparent peak of a campaign by the M-19 to show that Colombia's social problems cannot be solved by the present democratic system. On Thursday, booby-trapped guerrillas in Cali, 190 miles (300 kilometers) west of Bogotá, set fire to five buses after herding the passengers off.

The Liberal government of President Julio Cesar Turbay has urged people to go to the polls to show their rejection of violence.

Unity Candidate

The Conservative Party is seeking the ratification of Belisario Betancur as its first unity candidate in 30 years, while the Liberals are divided between supporters of the government-backed former president, Alfonso López Michelsen, and another contender, Luis Carlos Galán.

The failure of either Liberal contender to obtain a clear lead would throw the nomination open to a special convention that would be faced with a much wider field of candidates.

The political purpose of the election has been largely blurred by the almost identical campaign promises of the two major parties — to restore peace, generate employment and boost agricultural production.

The Liberals and Conservatives have ruled in alliance since 1957, when they ended the civil war, overthrew Gen. Rojas and agreed on the National Front, which committed both parties to an equal share of power in the legislature and Cabinet, with the presidency alternating every four years.

While the stability of the front

ended the change from a rural economy to rapid industrialization, the seeds of new violence were being sown by groups of die-hard Liberal guerrillas who turned to the left, encouraged by the 1959 Cuban revolution.

Mass migration to the cities, which now hold 60 percent of the population, gave birth to the belts of shantytowns around the main industrial centers.

The M-19, or Movement 19, was born on April 19, 1970, when Gen. Rojas' National Popular Alliance was narrowly defeated by Conservative Misael Pastrana, backed by the National Front, in elections described as fraudulent by Popular Alliance supporters. A leftist faction of the alliance then went underground.

Nicaragua Aids Private Business

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gests is something that can and should be influenced by interested groups, including the private sector.

With the government's already extensive power over raw materials, dollars and the economic infrastructure, "a businessman would be crazy to get involved in politics, but we're very much involved in policy," Mr. Dreyfus said. "Our objective is to influence government and not confront government."

The distinction was lost on the government last October after a state of emergency was declared and Mr. Dreyfus, along with three other COSEP leaders, were jailed for an open letter critical of some inflammatory rhetoric by Sandinista leaders. They were released last month.

After the 1979 insurrection against the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, the Sandinistas had all the power, but the private sector still 60 percent of the gross national product and more than three-fourths of the capacity to generate vital foreign exchange.

The Sandinistas, with Marxist and in some cases Soviet-Cuban leanings, reportedly have advised President Fidel Castro of Cuba against putting their faith in the Soviet bloc for major aid and against severing economic ties with the West.

The Sandinistas set about looking for some alternative system that would orient the economy toward Nicaragua's impoverished majority. The basic idea was and is to limit the accumulation of capital while providing greatly enhanced social welfare, educational and health services and building a new army from scratch that is larger than any other in Central America.

Although Nicaragua's businessmen describe themselves as progressive in comparison with their counterparts elsewhere in the region, they are also confronted with a situation in which the basic justification for most private enterprise, the making of wealth, is being fundamentally questioned by the government.

The current move toward détente appears to grow out of necessity as much as desire and has, in effect, sidestepped that basic paradox. Nicaragua's economy needs about \$1 billion in foreign exchange each year just to keep going at a slightly better than subsistence level. The private sector produces almost half that. The rest, in 1980-1981, was made up by foreign aid and loans.

This year, given the world economic situation, the cutoff of U.S. aid and Washington's attempts to block loans from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, plus declining support from Europe, no one in Nicaragua expects foreign aid to make up the gap.

Since the private sector will be left on its own to make up the gap, it appears that members of the government inclined to more moderate appeals are being given a try.

As a result of the government's new incentives, the businessmen complain less about financial policy, which is now basically conservative and as they see it basically beneficial, and more about mood, about "the climate for investment," which still does not exist.

But if there is one unequivocal point of agreement between the businessmen and the Sandinistas, it is that the cutoff of U.S. aid was a disaster.

"If Reagan's policy is to moderate the Sandinistas, he's wrong," said one of Managua's more conservative entrepreneurs. "He's only helping to liquidate the private sector."

Mr. Baez said, "Some people in the State Department think that Nicaragua is a Communist country. We think the Nicaraguans people haven't decided yet." He added, "We're still here. The last chapter has not been written. Nicaragua is not lost."

Next Costa Rica Leader Decries Bid at Military Victory in El Salvador

By Leonard Greenwood

LOS ANGELES — The United States should work for a political solution in El Salvador because attempting a purely military victory "will lead to a prolongation of the war and an interminable blood-bath in that country," the Costa Rican president declared, Luis Alberto Monge, has declared.

Mr. Monge said Thursday in Los Angeles that years of violence had failed to provide a military solution in El Salvador. "The guerrillas have not been able to crush the professional army," he said, "and the army has not been able to crush the guerrillas," he said.

Today there are two centers of power in El Salvador, the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas and the army, Mr. Monge said at a news conference. He was in California to visit friends.

"If the guerrillas win, there is no assurance that the people of El Salvador will have a democratic government," he said. "What they would be doing would be exchanging one despotic ideological side for another. On the military side, we know that there are certain negative security forces that are responsible for massacres, murders and acts of genocide."

In seeking a solution in El Salvador, Mr. Monge said, the United States should work with Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. "This is important because any unilateral action would involve the United States deeper and deeper into escalation," he said.

Mr. Monge, who will take office in May after an election victory in February that gave his leftist, non-Marxist National Liberation Party 33 of the 57 seats in Costa Rica's legislature, described his country's economic situation as the worst in its history. He said foreign debt had soared to \$4 billion for a nation of 2 million people, inflation was well over 70 percent and rising, and unemployment is at 20 percent.

He said the challenge he will face when he takes power will be to show that the democratic system in Costa Rica can solve production problems and alleviate misery and that it is better than the Marxist-Leninist system.

Mr. Monge said he will impose a tough program of austerity, productivity and exports. He said he will work to modernize agriculture, the nation's economic base, so that

Costa Rica can feed itself and export food. He will also cut luxury imports, he said.

He said he wants to create an awareness of the importance to the United States of helping Costa Rica to maintain its democratic system.

"If Costa Rica cannot overcome its problems, it will not be able to defend its democratic institutions," he said. "We believe we can overcome these problems and that Costa Rica will be able to contrast the effectiveness of the democratic system with what I consider to be the ineffective Marxist-Leninist system."

Canada Continues Seal Hunt Despite EEC Opposition

From Agency Dispatches

OTTAWA — Canada says West European calls for a ban on seal skin imports will not stop the controversial annual seal hunt that opened Friday along the Labrador coast. The government has set a quota of 93,000 seals.

"This is not the end of the seal hunt. We may have lost this battle in part but we haven't lost the war," said Romeo LeBlanc, the Canadian fisheries minister. The European Parliament voted Thursday in Strasbourg, France, in favor of an import ban to end what protesters termed the "inhumane" seal hunt. The EEC proposal must be approved by the 12-nation European Economic Community.

Mr. LeBlanc said Canada was confident of averting a binding ban by the EEC, and he refused to talk of negotiation against the value of fishing in Canadian waters that their trawlers enjoy.

Meanwhile, nine sealing vessels, three from Norway and six from Canada, waited off Newfoundland to start killing harp seal pups at dawn Friday at the start of the main hunt. More than 10,000 seals have already been killed this week off the Magdalen Islands in the St. Lawrence Gulf.

There the Greenpeace conservation movement planned to start a protest action that has been delayed by thick ice and bad weather. A four-man protest team plans to go onto the ice floes and shield the pups from hunters or spray the animals' skins green to make them worthless.

Paris Orders Police to Act In Wine War

From Agency Dispatches

PARIS — Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy ordered police action Friday against militant winegrowers who destroyed 6 million liters (1.3 million gallons) of French wine and several tanker trucks of Italian wine at a Mediterranean port.

About 500 growers, whose actions were the most severe in the seven-year war over cheap Italian imports, used plastic explosives Thursday to blast their way into a wine cooperative at Sète. They knocked spoils off several wine tanks and blew up two other tanks. Earlier, they had intercepted several tanker trucks carrying Italian wine and emptied the contents onto the road.

A spokesman for the wine cooperative, Comptoir Agricole Français, put the French loss at \$2 million. An owner of the cooperative is a member of the French Communist Party who is known locally as the red millionaire.

TV Coverage

French state television, which had been invited to film the attack, Thursday night showed the wine pouring from the damaged tanks into a nearby canal. The raid broke a monthlong truce by the winegrowers, and Mr. Mauroy, in a statement, called it an intolerable outrage and said that the local police had instructions to bring the perpetrators to justice. Police said 15 protesters were arrested.

Mr. Mauroy's Socialist government is under orders from the European Court of Justice to lift a temporary ban it placed on imports of Italian wine in January. The government had ordered the ban, illegal under the free-trade laws of the European Economic Community, to try to defuse a protest by French growers who claim that their livelihoods were threatened by cheap Italian imports.

Salvadoran Rebels Turning Sights on Economic Targets

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cent in two years, businessmen report.

"There is nothing easier than putting a bomb in an isolated distribution box and knocking out 1,000 telephone lines for 24 hours, until we get it repaired," said Nicholas Caranza, a field grade army officer who is in charge of Antel, the national telecommunications system. He put the cost of repairs to the system in 1981 at \$4 million to \$6 million.

Economic Problems

This is a country in which only about one-third of an estimated 4.5 million population have electricity. Sixty percent of all energy is supplied by firewood. There are 60,000 telephone lines here in the capital's metropolitan area (population 800,000), compared with 20,000 in the rest of the country, where the guerrillas have recently concentrated their military efforts and their political indoctrination campaigns.

The effect of the infrastructure warfare and the more general Central American economic crisis is a mutually reinforcing dilemma. Throughout the trip signs emerge of El Salvador's growing inability to finance the kind of changes that could undercut the guerrillas' arguments.

As the helicopter turns north out of San Salvador, it skims above an instant ghost town created by the collapse of the construction industry here. Dozens of half-finished low-rent apartment buildings slide past, walls and floors open to the sky for months now since work stopped.

Five minutes beyond this would be suburb, the pilot is carefully skirting the Guazapa Volcano, a guerrilla stronghold that can be seen from the top floors of San Salvador's skyscrapers. A quick succession of ridges gives way to the Lempa River, where the Energy Commission has two major hydroelectric generating stations

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

U.K. Tories Hold Lead in Latest Poll

United Press International

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party jumped into the lead in a political opinion poll published Friday, overtaking the new centrist alliance of Liberals and Social Democrats. The poll, published in the Daily Star, put the Conservatives in the lead for the first time since they won the general election in May, 1979. A survey of 1,000 voters gave the Conservatives 37 percent, the Labor Party 33 percent, and the alliance of Social Democrats and Liberals 27 percent. The survey was taken Wednesday, a day after the government announced its budget for next year. The package of tax proposals will leave most families a bit better off, although the biggest gains are for the wealthy, according to economic commentators.

Soviet Youths Warned on Religion

United Press International

MOSCOW — The Young Communist League told its 40 million members Friday they must choose between practicing religion and membership in the organization, from which future leaders are drawn.

The warning, in a stern article in the league's newspaper, Komsomolskaya Pravda, was prompted by the expulsion of 19 league members last year in the Baltic republic of Lithuania, which borders Poland. The offenders either had been married in church or had been spotted attending religious services in the city of Vilnius.

Komsomolskaya Pravda said they were not fired from their jobs or expelled from school, since the

Israeli Aide Sought to Bar Reporters

United Press International

TEL AVIV — The head of information at the Foreign Ministry, Moshe Yegar, suggested last month that journalists known to have "hostile" intentions toward Israel should be barred from entry and that those writing hostile reports should be expelled, it was revealed Friday.

A government panel rejected the idea as a danger to Israel's traditional freedom of the press, a high-ranking official said. But he called the proposal, made Feb. 9, "an honest attempt to put up defense against unfair journalism." Mr. Yegar was out of the country and could not be reached for comment.

A few days before Mr. Yegar made his proposal, ABC-TV aired a special about West Bank Palestinians, and Israel assailed the program as unfair. Zev Chafetz, a government spokesman, later accused Western journalists of being intimidated by the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut, but he called Mr. Yegar's suggestion "totally unacceptable."

Rome Coalition Calls Confidence Vote

Reuters

ROME — Italy's shaky coalition government called Friday for a vote of confidence Saturday to force parliamentary approval of its housing policy.

The confidence vote, on a decree including more funds for public housing projects, is the fifth that the government has posed in five months. It compels the squabbling ruling parties to rally behind Premier Giovanni Spadolini.

On Thursday, the five-party government was defeated in Parliament on a Communist motion on plans to reform Italy's state energy concern, ENEL. The Communists said Friday the government had failed and they urged the Socialists to join a leftist alternative on the pattern of France's Socialist government.

3 Spies Sentenced in West Germany

Reuters

MUNICH — Two West Germans and an East German were sentenced to prison Friday for giving enemy plans of the Tornado fighter jet, NATO's most modern combat aircraft, and information on weapons systems to East Germany's Ministry of State Security.

The court found that Jürgen Reichwald, 37, obtained the plans as an engineer for a Munich firm involved in building the plane. He was sentenced to six and a half years. His former wife, Mariette, 31, was given a 15-month sentence for helping to pass the data to an East German agent, Rolf Hecht, 46, who was sentenced to six years.

The court said Mr. Reichwald, who was born in East Germany, began supplying secret documents soon after he joined the Munich firm Motoren und Turbinen Union in 1973. He and his wife were arrested in September, 1980.

Kaunda Is Conciliatory Toward Zaire

United Press International

LUSAKA, Zambia — President Kenneth D. Kaunda, speaking for the first time about Zambia's border clashes with Zaire, said Friday the government of President Mobutu Sese Seko needed time to solve its problems.

Zaire had been "unmanageable and riddled with complex problems" when Mr. Mobutu came to power, and the border skirmishes were not deliberate, Mr. Kaunda said at a press conference.

Border clashes were reported last weekend. A joint Zambia-Zaire commission has recommended that troops be withdrawn from the border to cool tempers.

Bitter East-West Exchanges Mark Madrid Adjournment

(Continued from Page 1)

dom," he said, "the Soviet Union and its people enjoy neither. Rulers who govern the people they govern end up fearing one another, fearing their neighbors, fearing the unknown, fearing for themselves and their states."

"They then try to instill fear in others," he continued. "But fear does not produce lasting loyalty. Peace cannot evolve in an atmosphere of fear."

Invitation Rejected

Mr. Kampelman, who estimates that he has spent 170 hours in bilateral talks with the Soviet delegation, had invited its leaders to lunch with him Friday at Zalacain, one of Madrid's most expensive restaurants. The Russians had for some time been angling for an invitation to Zalacain.

But, after Mr. Kampelman's speech in the plenary session, a Soviet diplomat informed Mr. Kampelman that it would be impossible for the luncheon to take place.

Since the Dec. 13 military crackdown in Poland and with a strong lead from the United States, the 15 NATO countries and Spain have refused to participate in drafting sessions that were to address a

concluding document that had been prepared by neutral states.

The idea behind a prolonged recess — which was formally moved by Switzerland and only accepted by the Soviet Union at the end of Friday's session — is that by November the international climate may have improved enough to make renewed attempts at improving the Helsinki accords possible.

But, with an eye on a seeming toughening of the repression in Poland, many diplomats suspect that the climate in November will be worse, not better, possibly clouded by what appears to be the beginning of a leadership succession crisis in the Soviet Union.

"In the regrettable event that we cannot reach an agreement when we reconvene in the autumn," Mr. Kampelman said Friday, "there will be only one reason for our inability to do so. It will be due to the continued presence of Soviet military power to subjugate its neighbors — directly, as in Afghanistan, and by blatant pressure which forces others to choose repression rather than compromise and conciliation, as was their method of dealing with the aspiration of the Polish people for greater freedom and dignity."

"Lots of coffee," he says, beginning to climb another 1000 feet rapidly. "And lots of guerrillas. Like everywhere now."

Rebels Blow Up Power Line

From Agency Dispatches

SAN SALVADOR — Salvadoran rebels cut off electricity to the eastern third of the country by blowing up a power line Thursday. A power company spokesman confirmed a report by rebels who said they blew up a high-voltage transmission tower near San Vicente, 42 miles (67 kilometers) east of San Salvador, during the night.

Guerrillas in Morazan province also cut off the northern part of the province to government ground forces by destroying a bridge over a major highway. An army spokesman said Thursday that the bridge was partly destroyed, isolating several small towns in northern Morazan.

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مكتبة

U.S. Quietly Relaxes Ban on Visits By Leading South African Officers

New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration, in order to facilitate negotiations on securing the independence of South-West Africa (Namibia) from South Africa, has quietly eased a long-standing practice of not allowing high-ranking South African military officers into the United States on official business.

State Department officials said Thursday that, without any publicity, senior South African military officers have come to the United States in recent months as part of delegations that have met in private with Chester A. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, on the Namibia question. Namibian independence is the subject of intense negotiations involving Western and African states, as well as political groups inside and outside Namibia.

The most recent meeting with Mr. Crocker took place at the State Department on Feb. 22 and

23, the officials said. The leader of the South African delegation was Brian Fourie, the senior civil servant in the South African Foreign Ministry. He was accompanied by, among others, Lt. Gen. P.W. van der Westhuizen, chief of staff for intelligence.

When asked why Gen. van der Westhuizen was permitted into the United States, an official said: "They came to negotiate and obviously they could bring who they wanted."

Officials said that another delegation led by Mr. Fourie, which included other military officers, conferred in November with Mr. Crocker in Middleburg, Va.

As part of the U.S. embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa, South African military officers have been banned from coming to this country on official business, outside of those attached to the embassy. But a State Department official said Thursday that each application to come here

was studied on a case-by-case basis, and "we saw no reason to tell the South Africans who to have on their delegation."

Gen. van der Westhuizen was last in the United States in March, 1981, under different circumstances. He and four other South African military officers arrived under what the State Department called "misleading circumstances."

Officials said that visa applications for their trip had been approved, but that they were asked to leave the country.

But while they were in the United States, Gen. van der Westhuizen met in New York with Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the U.S. representative to the United Nations. That meeting was divulged after the group had left the country and a State Department spokesman had said that they had had no high-level meetings. He was later forced to correct himself.



Lawrence S. Eagleburger — arms-talk stance expected.

Reagan Rejects Nuclear Arms Freeze

By Bernard Gwertzman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration says it shares the concern of members of Congress who are advocating a freeze in the levels of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals but it "cannot support" the proposal because it would "freeze the United States into a position of military disadvantage and dangerous vulnerability."

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. had criticized the idea Wednesday on Capitol Hill, but a more formal statement Thursday by the State Department sought to align the administration with proponents of arms control without accepting the plan endorsed by 17 senators and 122 representatives.

The statement, read by Richard R. Burt, director of political and military affairs, said President Reagan "and his entire administration share the concern felt throughout the world over the danger that nuclear weapons pose for mankind."

The statement then argued, however, that a freeze would not only put the United States at a military disadvantage because the Soviet Union has a lead in certain types of intermediate and intercontinental atomic weapons, but also would deprive the administration "of a credible chance to negotiate a good strategic arms reduction agreement."

U.S. Position

Another senior official, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs, said Thursday that the administration was close to concluding deliberations on proposals to present to the Soviet Union whenever a new round of negotiations on reducing strategic arms begins.

Mr. Eagleburger said that in about "two weeks, three weeks, or a month," alternatives for the opening U.S. position at the strategic arms talks would be brought to Mr. Reagan.

The timing of the start of those negotiations depends on the "overall East-West climate," he said. He was careful not to link a decision

on beginning strategic arms talks to the situation in Poland, and declared that the talks were not necessarily "hostage" to Poland.

It was clear, however, that the administration is looking for some easing of the situation in Poland before it commits itself. Mr. Eagleburger refused to state the U.S. conditions for starting the talks.

Mr. Haig and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko had planned to set a date for the start of the strategic arms negotiations when they met in Geneva in January, but because of the crackdown in Poland, Mr. Haig refused to do so.

'Present Advantage'

Talks are continuing in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union on limiting intermediate-range, and based on nuclear missiles, but Mr. Eagleburger said Thursday that no significant progress had been achieved yet.

Mr. Burt said the nuclear-freeze proposal would severely hamper the current talks.

"We have embarked on a very

important negotiation on intermediate-range nuclear weapons with the Soviet Union in Geneva," he said. "The freeze proposal would concede to the Soviet Union its present advantage in intermediate-range nuclear missiles and thus eliminate any Soviet incentive to reach a thorough and balanced agreement that would reduce nuclear weapons in Europe."

The U.S. proposal in those talks, made public by Mr. Reagan last Nov. 18, calls for the elimination of the Soviet Union's 283 SS-20 missile launchers in Europe, each of which carries three warheads, in return for cancellation of allied plans to construct 572 modern missile launchers in Europe beginning in late 1983.

"While we understand the spirit that motivates the freeze effort," the State Department statement said, "the administration cannot support the freeze itself."

Mr. Eagleburger said he was worried that the freeze proposal could add to anti-nuclear sentiments in Western Europe.

U.S. Aid Insufficient, Somalia Leader Hints

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia has expressed confidence that "a new chapter of closer cooperation" lies ahead for his country and the United States but suggested he is not satisfied with the level of U.S. economic and military aid to his poor and strife-torn nation.

The African leader, whose country is viewed as strategically located by U.S. planners hoping to defend the Gulf in an emergency, appeared at a press conference here Thursday after a series of meetings in Washington, including one with Defense Secretary Frank B. Rowland.

Asked if he was satisfied with the level of U.S. aid being requested by the administration, Mr. Siad Barre said that his meetings with Mr. Reagan, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and congressional leaders were "satisfactory, but the amount was not."

Mr. Siad Barre said that he preferred not to answer such a question directly and that he wasn't complaining. His country needs more defense and economic help, he asserted, and needs it faster.

But he said "the atmosphere was excellent" in his three days of meetings in Washington, and so he was "confident the future will be good."

Earlier, leaving the White House after meeting with Mr. Reagan,

Mr. Siad Barre said, "I'm confident that our talks will lead to the opening of a new chapter of closer cooperation between our two countries."

The Reagan administration has requested roughly \$90 million to \$95 million for the next fiscal year for Somalia in a combination of military, economic and food assistance, plus aid for helping care for some 700,000 refugees from the disputed Ogaden region of Ethiopia, an area of chronic warfare between Somali guerrillas and Ethiopian forces supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

The new budget request is an increase from this year's \$78.5-million outlay, but Somalia has been pressing Washington for years for vastly larger sums. U.S. relations with Somalia have been improving since 1977, when Somalia expelled Soviet advisers. In 1980, Mr. Siad Barre agreed to allow the United States access to ports and airfields if necessary in a military emergency.

Officials said that Mr. Siad Barre was certain to have discussed the threat to his country and others in the region from Libya during the half-hour meeting with Mr. Reagan. At the press conference, however, Mr. Siad Barre tended to play down the Libya question. He said the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany are the real threat in the region.

U.S. Is Warned Of Critical Lack Of Teachers

Los Angeles Times Service

PALO ALTO, Calif. — A national panel looking into the problems of public schools has been warned that teachers must be offered higher pay and better benefits if a serious brain drain, especially in the areas of mathematics and science, is to be halted.

"The economic well-being, the security as well as the health and safety of Americans" depends in large measure on "the strength of our technological and scientific enterprise," Glenn Seaborg, chemistry professor at the University of California, Berkeley, said Thursday in opening the first public hearing of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

That strength is being threatened, witnesses said, by the inability of schools to attract and hold qualified teachers.

In December, 43 states reported a shortage or critical shortage of math teachers, while 42 states said the same of physics teachers, according to a survey by the National Science Teachers Association. Moreover, since 1975, the number of college students preparing to teach high school math has fallen 64 percent, according to a second national survey.

White House Backs Stronger Warning Labels on Cigarettes

By Christine Russell

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has urged off objections and complaints from conservative Sen. Jesse Helms, a North Carolina Republican, and other tobacco state legislators and endorsed legislation to place stronger health warning labels on cigarette packages.

The assistant secretary for health, Dr. Edward N. Brandt Jr., flanked the surgeon general and top cancer, heart and drug officials in the Department of Health and Human Services, told a House Commerce health subcommittee Thursday that the government believes rotating warnings about specific risks of cigarettes would help "increase the public's knowledge of the hazards of smoking."

The government decision to support such legislation was made despite recent warnings to Health

and Human Services Secretary Richard S. Schweiker, in September 1980, saying that "my own Cabinet members will be far too busy with substantive matters to waste their time proselytizing against the dangers of cigarette smoking."

In letters obtained by The Washington Post, Sen. Helms complained about "what is perceived as incipient 'Californianism' in your Department," while Rep. Eugene Johnston, Republican of North Carolina, worried that antagonizing the tobacco industry could endanger election prospects for him and other "vulnerable" congressmen.

Rep. L.H. Fountain, Democrat of North Carolina, also warned that more regulations would "injure the revenue bonanza which government receives from this honorable crop."

Rep. Johnston and Rep. Fountain cited an election pledge by President Reagan in September 1980, saying that "my own Cabinet members will be far too busy with substantive matters to waste their time proselytizing against the dangers of cigarette smoking."

Sources indicated that the go-ahead to generally endorse pending legislation to rotate the warning labels on cigarettes was made at the last minute by the Office of Management and Budget, apparently after special clearance from the White House. The decision came after the Department of Health and Human Services had pushed for approval.

Mr. Schweiker has not launched the kind of outspoken, personal campaign that Mr. Califano, a reformed smoker, did, but he has repeatedly stated his support for preventive health efforts.

Late last year, Mr. Schweiker wrote the Federal Trade Commission

that "smoking is the chief preventable cause of death in our society," saying he was "committed to effective action to reduce cigarette-related disease and death."

In February, Surgeon General C. Everett Koop and Mr. Brandt, the assistant secretary, released a strongly worded annual report on the cancer risks associated with smoking. It was described as the government's "most serious indictment" of smoking ever.

High Priority

But Thursday's testimony was the first to indicate how far the government is willing to go in supporting specific actions. Mr. Brandt said that such legislation was a high priority of the administration.

A bill introduced with 50 co-sponsors by Rep. Henry A. Wax-

man, Democrat of California, the health subcommittee chairman, would replace the current cigarette label — "cigarette smoking is dangerous to your health" — with rotating warnings. A similar bill is sponsored by Sen. Orrin Hatch, Republican of Utah.

Five versions would warn against specific dangers, including the risks of heart disease, cancer and emphysema, the hazards to unborn children of pregnant women who smoke, and the benefits of quitting, no matter how long a person has smoked.

Mr. Brandt indicated that the administration was in general agreement with this approach but believed that the warnings should simultaneously appear on different brands so that smokers would be constantly exposed to a wide variety of information.

2 Ex-Aides To Nkomo Are Arrested

The Associated Press

SALISBURY — Joshua Nkomo's two leading former guerrilla commanders, including the current deputy commander of the Zimbabwean Army, are being detained indefinitely without trial for investigation into an alleged coup plot, government sources said Friday.

A statement issued by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's office Thursday said the deputy army commander, Lt. Gen. Lookooti Masuku, and the Soviet-trained former security chief of the Patriotic Front guerrilla force, Dumiso Dabengwa, had been "arrested by security forces in pursuance of the continuing investigations into the alleged coup plot."

Gen. Masuku, formerly the Patriotic Front guerrilla commander, and Mr. Dabengwa, who led the Patriotic Front guerrillas' joint high command last July, are the highest ranking members of Mr. Nkomo's minority party to be held since Mr. Mugabe unveiled details of an alleged coup plot against him Feb. 17.

Gen. Masuku, Mr. Dabengwa and the Patriotic Front protocol secretary, Swaziland, were arrested at their homes Wednesday by security police from Mr. Mugabe's intelligence organization, according to sources who requested anonymity in accordance with government regulations.

They were detained under emergency regulations that empower the government to hold people without trial for 30 days initially and then indefinitely, the sources said.

Weapons Found

Mr. Mugabe fired Mr. Nkomo and three other Patriotic Front ministers from the 23-month-old coalition government, claiming they were linked to a plan to start a civil war to depose his government. Earlier, weapons were unearthed from farms owned by Mr. Nkomo and other Patriotic Front officials.

An undisclosed number of junior Patriotic Front officials were arrested after the discovery of armory caches, ground-to-air missiles, bazookas, rockets, machine guns and other weapons.

Mr. Nkomo, president of Patriotic Front, which is based in the minority Matabele tribe of western Zimbabwe, denied the allegation. He accused Mr. Mugabe of seeking excuses to destroy the coalition and pave the way for the creation of a one-party state.

Mr. Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwe African National Union, founded on the majority Shona tribe, vowed that supporters of the alleged plot would be brought to court.

After Mr. Mugabe fired Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Dabengwa said Patriotic Front guerrillas had hoarded arms for fear of "revenge and attacks" by Mugabe guerrillas or by South Africa.

Argentina May Issue Report On the Missing Thousands

New York Times Service

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina's interior minister says that the government is considering issuing its own study of the thousands of Argentines who disappeared during the civil unrest of the 1970s.

The minister, Gen. Alfredo St. Jean, says the report will show that "there are many fewer" missing people than reported.

Parents of the missing people have been clinging to the hope that their children are alive in secret jails. Gen. St. Jean, however, said there were no secret prisons. He invited inspection of "every prison, military base, police precinct and home in Argentina."

The general, who took office three months ago, spoke in an interview Sunday while attending an annual wine festival in Mendoza, a grape-growing region in the west. His remarks were the first public indication that the government might make some response to demands here and abroad for an accounting of those who have disappeared.

Abuses Are Denied
International and local human rights groups have estimated the number of missing people to be from 6,000 to 20,000. But Gen. St. Jean said many of them were alive in Europe or were killed in combat with the military during its war against leftist guerrillas in the mid-1970s.

The general declined to give numbers, but he denied that many of the missing were victims of "excesses or abuses" by the security forces, as human rights groups say. He said the government would prosecute any past abuses if they were proved.

Human rights groups, citing testimony by survivors, say most of the missing people were killed in torture chambers or were dropped alive from planes into the sea. They say the government has a list of most incidents.

The general said "subversives" had infiltrated human rights groups, but he added that most human rights leaders were "people of good faith."

The publication of the study and its final shape will have to be approved by President Leopoldo Galtieri and the two other members of the ruling military junta, he said.

He said Argentina's military rulers planned a gradual return to democracy and that a statute under consideration to reactivate political parties would not exclude any of the country's leading politicians or parties, including the Peronists.

And he denied reports that the government planned to insert a provision into the political party statute prohibiting future investigations of the military over the people who disappeared. He said such reports were "premature."

During six days of debate the Senate heard charges from Mr. Williams and other members that Abasco was a series of crimes dreamed up and encouraged by the FBI in an attempt to entrap innocent members of Congress.

While Mr. Williams was out able to convince most members that he was an innocent victim of overzealous law enforcement officers, the serious questions about FBI conduct remained.

Sen. John C. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, said he will ask for a law to require court approval for Abasco-type operations. Congress should "lay down a law that must be obeyed by the FBI," he said.

Sen. David H. Pryor, Democrat of Arkansas, agreed: "I think now is the time to establish some checks and balances, to establish parameters in which the FBI can operate. I hope the message does not go out that we think we're immune from investigation, above the law. We're not. But the FBI has shown a total, callous disregard for the rights of citizens."

Senators were particularly angered by a memo introduced Wednesday by Sen. Pryor indicating that FBI Director William H.

Webster personally had approved the offer of an Abasco bribe to Sen. Larry Pressler, Republican of South Dakota. Sen. Pressler did not take any money and was never accused of wrongdoing.

The FBI, which refused Thursday to comment on the memo, had countered charges of entrapment by insisting that the Abasco middlemen had been instructed to bring in only members of Congress who were prepared to take part in a criminal act.

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U.S. Aide, in Chile, Extols Relations

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Service

SANTIAGO — A two-day visit here of Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders has produced no visible progress toward resumption of a U.S. military aid program to Chile, but in a news conference before his departure for Washington, Mr. Enders said relations between the two countries continue to be "excellent."

Congress has conditioned the aid resumption on administration certification that the military government of President Augusto Pinochet has made "significant progress" in improving human rights and has taken steps to "bring to justice" Chilean officials indicted in the 1976 Washington murder of exiled Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier.

Mr. Enders' trip here was designed in part to consult with the government over steps it has taken or could take to justify certification and re-establish the military ties that both Washington and Santiago want.

Mr. Enders met Wednesday with officials from the Chilean Human Rights Commission and the respected rights divisions of the Roman Catholic Church, and both organizations maintain that while Chile improved human rights standards during the late

1970s, there has been a gradual tightening of what they call a system of selective repression.

Military action against political opponents entered a new stage in 1978, a Human Rights Commission spokesman said, when "repression stopped being massive and indiscriminate and started being discriminate — they started selecting from among their potential victims. The idea is to maintain the fear they already had put into the population by maintaining a presence through selective repression that at the same time improves their international image."

In recent weeks there have also been several major incidents tied by human rights officials to what they say is the deteriorating situation, including the murder of a prominent labor activist and the continuing detention of two directors of the Chilean rights commission, one of whom allegedly has been partly paralyzed by electric shocks and other torture.

Chilean government officials have denied any involvement in the death of Tupac Jimenez Alfaro, a prominent labor leader who was promoting a common labor fund against the government when he was found shot to death, and have charged the human rights leaders with "illicit association."

which means they were allegedly working as political activists.

In several instances families of persons killed during alleged confrontations have charged that political suspects disappeared or were arrested several days before the alleged confrontation took place, and say that the supposed shootouts were in fact staged by the police.

Chilean government officials maintain that Chile is facing an increased threat of terrorism from the west, involving in part the clandestine return here of political exiles. As evidence they cite recent terrorist attacks, such as the one on the president of the Supreme Court late last year and on the home of a high army official by terrorists who have not been identified.

While agreeing that some leftist activists have returned clandestinely to Chile and are operating against the government, human rights officials here say that the repression by the Chilean government goes far beyond isolating leftist extremists.

U.S. officials who have supported the resumption of military aid to Chile say the country may be certified as having made progress in human rights in view of the changes since 1976, even though the last few years have brought few clear improvements.

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Belgium.....	R.Fr. 248.00	124.00	69.00	Italy (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	Spain (air).....	\$ 330.00	165.00	92.00
Belgium (sea).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	Japan (air).....	Li. 144,000.00	72,000.00	39,600.00	Spain (sea).....	Ptas. 12,400.00	6,200.00	3,320.00
Canada (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00	Lebanon (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	Sweden (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00
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Czechoslovakia (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00	Madagascar (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	Taiwan (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00
Denmark (air).....	D.Kr. 990.00	495.00	270.00	Malaysia (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	Turkey (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00
Egypt (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	Mexico (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00	U.A.R. (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00
Finland (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00	Moldavia (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00	U.S.S.R. (air).....	\$ 248.00	124.00	69.00
France.....	F.M. 510.00	405.00	225.00	Morocco (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00	U.S.A. (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00
France (sea).....	F.F. 720.00	360.00	190.00	Netherlands.....	Fl. 410.00	205.00	112.00	Yugoslavia (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00
Germany.....	D.M. 360.00	180.00	100.00	Norway (air).....	N.Kr. 80.00	40.00	22.00	Zaire (air).....	\$ 330.00	165.00	92.00
Great Britain.....	Stk. 54.00	27.00	15.00					Other Eur. Comm. (air).....	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00

Where Is the Evidence?

It is easy to sympathize with the Reagan administration's mounting frustration over the lukewarm response to its charges of Soviet use of biological and chemical weapons. If the Soviet Union is indeed using chemical nerve agents and biochemical toxins in Afghanistan, Laos and Cambodia, it is not only a flagrant violation of a treaty commitment but also a program of calculated brutality on a broad scale. If it is happening, it is as important as anything else on the international scene and it deserves far more attention than it has been getting.

Precisely because the charges are so important, however, one is forced to ask why more and better evidence to support them has not been marshaled. Opinions on the strength of the case against the Soviet Union have swung back and forth as evidence has been released and errors and gaps in the evidence were discovered. Consider Undersecretary Stoen's announcement this week that the Soviet Union is waging chemical war in Afghanistan. It was the most direct U.S. charge to date of Soviet violation of the 1925 Geneva Convention prohibiting chemical warfare. But where was the evidence?

Mr. Stoen's statement, a single paragraph, said only that Afghan military defectors had provided information on types of chemical agents and where and when they were used, and that this "generally corresponds" with refugee reports and records of known military engagements. Yet the statement claimed that there have been 3,042 deaths from chemical attacks.

Even if that figure is only a lower limit, its precision, derived as it is from such crude

sources, can only subtract from the credibility of the claim. No physical evidence — weapons shells, photographs, chemical samples — has been found. Asked to provide more information, the State Department said that it hopes to issue a declassified report, perhaps within one week.

This sort of thing has been the rule, not the exception. The first announcement of physical evidence of the use of "yellow rain" in Southeast Asia was made on the basis of chemical analysis of a single leaf sample, with no scientific controls. The identification of the source of the toxin included the assertion that these organisms "are not native to warm climates, i.e. Southeast Asia." However, a few weeks later an independent expert pointed out that natural outbreaks have occurred in India.

In short, if the administration finds the domestic skepticism and international indifference to its charges to be troubling, it has no one but itself to blame. Convincing evidence need not be rigorous enough to meet the standards of a court of law or a scientific journal. These are, after all, active war zones in remote and devastated countries, and collecting reliable proof of the use of these sorts of weapons is a dangerous and technically sophisticated business. But after years of charges and reportedly "thousands" of refugee reports, it is puzzling — and to some, it is suspicious — that the government has been unable to document the charges more conclusively. With reasonable effort over a period of years, collecting the evidence should not be that difficult.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Haitians' Bad Deal

Now and then, a court can rescue the other two branches of government from the stupidities of their paralysis — which is just what a federal district judge may have done concerning the Haitians. The Immigration Service is holding about 2,500 of them in detention camps pending hearings. In a New York case involving eight Haitians, Judge Robert Carter found the detention wrongful. Other migrants with similar records are not detained: He found that 90 of 91 non-Haitians were released, but 81 of 86 Haitians have been held for months, in substandard facilities. "Discriminatory decision-making," the judge ruled, and he is right.

Not even accused criminals are imprisoned without the opportunity for bail. Yet the Haitians are not criminals. They are poor blacks fleeing poverty, or persecution. To put them in camps is discriminatory and cruel. And it is needless. Judge Carter's court decision may help end a burning national embarrassment — as may a trial in a similar case scheduled to start Monday in Miami. The wonder is that the administration and Congress have not felt more embarrassed.

Although some Haitians are admissible as political refugees, most are not. The camps

arose because Washington wanted to deter illegal immigrants. That objective is sound. America cannot, even at its most generous, admit everyone fleeing misfortune all over the world; it has to draw a line somewhere.

But Washington has been coldly wrong in its handling of the Haitians. For word of the camps to drift back to Haiti may be some deterrence. But speedy action on individual cases would permit a much stronger deterrent: the prompt return to Haiti of those who are inadmissible. The key, then, is a faster hearing process, which the administration, to its modest credit, has proposed to Congress.

While congressmen maneuver, people languish in camps. Many have waited for eight months. Husbands remain separated from wives, children from parents. Lawyers tell of case after case of extreme boredom, severe depression, even attempted suicide. Every day these detention camps continue is a day the United States defames itself.

Yes, America needs to get control of its borders. Yes, America needs to send out a signal that it is serious about doing so. The signal of the camps, however, is not that it is serious but that it is racist, mindless, cruel.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

General Motors + Toyota

The discussions between General Motors and Toyota regarding joint production of a small car in the United States are not a reassuring development. On either side there is a hint that the company is making a gesture to pacify criticism but that it does not want to invest much money in it for the long haul. General Motors evidently thinks that it needs a new model to succeed its Chevette in the subcompact range, but does not want to go to the considerable expense of developing it. Toyota seems to think that it needs to produce some cars in the United States to meet the protectionists' outcries, but prefers to avoid building plants of its own.

Those are the affairs of the two companies and their shareholders. For the rest of the world, the issue here is competition.

General Motors is the largest automobile company in the world by quite a wide margin. Toyota is third. (Second, if you are wondering, is Ford.) One joint operation, particularly if it is on the limited scale apparently anticipated here, hardly constitutes a merger. Nor is the worldwide automobile industry at present highly concentrated. But this kind of an entente between number one and number three raises an obvious question.

After all, General Motors cannot have it both ways. The antitrust tradition in the United States would disapprove of General Motors' rising share of the American market

for domestic cars. But the American antitrust tradition is increasingly obsolete. For a rapidly expanding list of products, the share of the domestic market is not what counts. In a lot of businesses, certainly including the automobile business, it is the company's share of the world market that is crucial.

Although General Motors makes close to two-thirds of the American cars sold in the United States, that market remains highly competitive because of the imports. But the same logic makes you wonder about the future of that market if the largest domestic manufacturer and the largest importer begin to work together.

There are now about two dozen automobile producers of real international importance. Present evidence suggests that by 1990 the number will be down to 10 or so. If two of the most aggressive and strongest have developed a pattern of joining forces, that does not look like a formula for a highly competitive automobile market.

There is little in the antitrust laws of the United States or any other country that addresses worldwide competition. But that is the scale on which the management of any large and well-run manufacturing company is now thinking. The GM-Toyota talks raise a question whether governments as well might not have to give it some thought.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Opinion

Vietnam Still Divides Americans

The Vietnam War still divides the country. Americans cannot even agree on how to honor their dead. A nasty controversy developed about the design and intent of a Vietnam memorial planned on the Washington Mall, but

a compromise appears to have cleared the way to its construction. The memorial's placement in a position of honor on the Mall might help persuade skeptical Vietnam veterans that the country holds warm feelings toward the service of those living and dead.

— From the Los Angeles Times.

March 13: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

1907: French Battleship Disaster

TOULON, France — One of the most terrible naval catastrophes of modern times has occurred. The first-class battleship *Iena*, while in dock, was partially destroyed by the explosion of the ammunition stored on board, with great loss of life. Although the amount of wood and inflammable material used in building the vessel was reduced to a minimum, she caught fire immediately after the explosions. Capt. Adigard, the commanding officer, and Cdr. Verrier, of the naval staff, were killed, the latter being literally roasted alive in his cabin. Over 200 officers and men are missing, as the disaster occurred just before roll call, with the entire crew on board.

1932: Over 11 Million for Hitler

BERLIN — Thirty-seven and a half million men and women have gone to the polls throughout Germany to choose a president in the most critical electoral test of the German Republic. The complete unofficial count showed a second balloting will be necessary. It revealed also a significant increase in the strength of Adolf Hitler, the fascist leader, since the 1930 elections. The unofficial returns bear out predictions that the elections would be chiefly a struggle between von Hindenburg and Hitler, whose vote of more than 11 million was 7.3 million behind that of the marshal and more than 6 million ahead of the Communist candidate.



Roads From Unrealism to Mere Tyranny . . .

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The American writer Susan Sontag, speaking of Poland, observed recently that "not only is fascism (and overt military rule) the probable destiny of all Communist societies — especially when their populations are moved to revolt — but Communism is in itself a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism. Fascism with a human face."

These words were spoken to a progressive rally in New York, called to draw parallels between the plight of Poland's workers and those of the United States, groaning under the knot of Reaganism.

Miss Sontag's statement was not then, as one may imagine, greeted with much warmth by this audience. She was whistled, and has since been attacked in print by that remnant of the American left which can still convince itself that, while something may have gone desperately wrong in Russia and Eastern Europe, Marxist Socialism still holds the answer to man's most urgent hopes.

Miss Sontag made an important point in emphasizing the ideological significance of military dictatorship in Poland. These generals seized power from a discredited Communist Party, but in their determination to restore order, and trade union agitation, put people back to work, and so on, they were not so much as they military counterparts in recent years in Chile and Greece.

Communism

Communism in the past has always been a civilian movement. The military has been firmly subordinated in the Soviet Union and the other Communist societies which might be regarded as "classical," or normative. Poland has turned this tradition upside down. The Communist Party in Poland survives today thanks only to the generals. The implications are worth some thought.

It is possible, as Miss Sontag suggests, that here lies the future for other Communist states, and even for the Soviet Union itself. The military sector of Soviet government and the Soviet economy is certainly the most dynamic today, and has been expanding. Russia is, in most respects, a backward society, oppressively governed by old and fearful men, unable to feed itself despite rich lands, industrially uncompetitive, its economy systematically mismanaged, technologically lagging — except in military and military-related matters.

That generals might inherit the Soviet system is not, then, unthinkable, shocking as this would have been to Bolsheviks of the generation of Lenin, Bukharin and Trotsky. For them, generalship and armies were merely the instruments of a government which represented proletarian laborers, led by radical intellectuals. But it is noteworthy that in the Third World today, Communist and Marxist movements more often than not are militarized. Fidel Castro's is not the only version of Third World Socialism or Communism which cannot demobilize. Mr. Castro, from the Jesuit-educated middle classes, trained as a lawyer; but since his days in the Sierra Maestra, he seems never to have taken off his combat boots — uncomfortable as they must be at diplomatic receptions in midsummer Havana.

Indeed, even the Communist movement in Russia, which took power as a result of the 1917 war, has always phrased political struggle in military metaphors. The conventional language is of struggles on various "fronts," winning battles of production, mobilizing the masses, unmasking spies and traitors, saluting heroes. What now has happened in Warsaw may well be the inevitable, if ironic, conclusion to all of this.

But military dictatorship is not

fascism. Fascism, like Communism, was launched into power by the terrible events of World War I and its aftermath, and never lost the war's mark. But fascism also owed much to Socialism. Mussolini started out as a Socialist, and quit the Socialists because they behaved conventionally when the war broke out, while he believed that they should seize the opportunity provided by war to provoke unrest, and eventually destroy the bourgeois system.

Escapism

The Nazis — "The National Socialist German Workers' Party" — began in the attempt to perpetuate in revolutionary postwar times the patriotism and self-sacrifice of wartime soldiering, the war's "Fieldgray Socialism." Hitler's

earliest and most important rival in the party, Gregor Strasser, was radically opposed to capitalism. Strasser wanted nationalization of industry and the big estates, decentralized government and the breakup of Prussia.

Both fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany subsequently abandoned their early social radicalism. Their dominant impulses proved to be nationalist, racist, anti-modern, with mythic and millenarian overtones. They were populist, anti-religious and anti-aristocratic. There was nothing conservative about them. They were hostile to the old nationalist political parties, to ordinary rightists and reactionaries.

Fascism was a kind of demented populism, tearing down the remaining structures of a Europe

which had all but wrecked itself between 1914 and 1918, proclaiming romantic ideas of a powerful and pagan past somehow to be restored at others' expense. A new Rome, a thousand-year Reich. Communism is no less ambitious, but it purports to be rational and scientific, looking to the future. Its origins are in the Enlightenment.

Both movements have been frantic efforts to escape the limits of ordinary life and the frustrations of ordinary politics. The impulse to escape from reality persists. It undoubtedly will manifest itself again in the future. But consolation can be taken in the thought that furiously ideological movements like Communism and fascism do, in the end, reach their terms, and that follows is mere dictatorship, brutal generals bent on restoring order.

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. . . and Then All the Way Home

By William F. Buckley Jr.

NEW YORK — When Susan Sontag got up to speak at Town Hall in New York at a rally registering solidarity with Poland, she must have known that by no means all her fellow speakers were prepared, as Kurt Vonnegut has put it in another context, to go all the way. Indeed she was booed and howled at from the balcony, and it is worth explaining why.

Having read her speech twice, I would judge the passage in it most offensive to the left that in which she said, "Imagine, if you will, someone who read only the Reader's Digest between 1950 and 1970, and someone in the same period who read only the Nation or the New Statesman. Which reader would have been better informed about the realities of Communism? The answer, I think, should give us pause. Can it be that our enemies were right?"

Such language as that is absolutely Pauline in its implications. Can it be that our enemies were right? What were the enemies saying, in the Reader's Digest, that did not appear in the Nation and the New Statesman? They were of course saying that the Communism heralded by John Reed in 1917, defended by L.F. Stone in 1939, apologized for by Henry Wallace in 1948, unopposed by Nehru in 1956, made common cause with by Jean-Paul Sartre in 1968, shielded from criticism by Susan Sontag in 1973, apologized

for by George Kennan in 1982, has never really changed. She said that there is no longer any life left in the empty ideological shell of the stateless society that gripped the imagination of so many intellectuals for so many years.

Fascism

All there is is the lust for state power. What it is, is fascism. Miss Sontag said, although she was a little reluctant to use that word because it is hard any longer to invest any meaning in it. But she knows, she says, that she was always against fascism. Well, being against fascism is being against the Soviet Union. But being against the Soviet Union in the Helsinki Pact sense of the word does not work. The other — and this is the nearest Miss Sontag has ever come to mortification of the flesh — the other, call it the Reader's Digest sense of the word, might work, because it is based on realism.

Well now, what kind of things do you find in the Reader's Digest? You find accounts of Soviet military buildup, of what life has been like in Czechoslovakia since the Prague spring, of torture in psychiatric hospitals, of cheating on SALT-1. Calls for victory in Vietnam against the surrogate of the Soviet Union. Calls for a buildup of America's ability to resist.

Why is it that Poland brought Miss Sontag home? What has been its special power? There are those

who confess to having been brought home by the power of Solzhenitsyn's masterpiece, "The Gulag Archipelago." It is difficult to read one-tenth of that book, let alone the whole of it, without understanding. The events in Poland are hardly surprising. But Miss Sontag, with her penetrating eye, sees in Poland yet another elaboration of the art of tyranny.

"I find," she says, "that the Polish coup, no one had ever thought of turning off the phones for an indefinite period. No one had ever thought of a permanent curfew. No one had ever thought of forbidding the sale of gasoline for private cars. Banning all public meetings. Stopping the sale of rucksacks and of writing paper. Draconian measures that are not for 48 hours but simply a new way of life."

Not actually new. George Orwell had thought of all that, and then more. One treasures the memory of Rose Macaulay, whose reaction to Orwell's 1984 was: Why should a nice man write about so inconceivable a world?

It's a pity, the single expiation to her audience, that Miss Sontag, in the same breath, had to bring up Chile and Argentina. They are awful in the sense that crime in the streets is awful. Repressive regimes exist, some because people love power, and some — as in both Argentina, where Timmerman backed the coup in 1976, and Chile, where Frei backed the coup in 1973 — because of antedictatorial conditions.

But Communism — successful fascism — is based on tyranny. Nothing but tyranny is conceivable. It will not stand liberalization. It howls it down as Miss Sontag was howled down, for a speech which, had it been delivered in Poland by a Pole, would have got her not boots, but prison. She is welcome, and one honors her courage.

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Letters

De Gaulle's Embargo

C.L. Solzberger (JHT, March 10) says that de Gaulle's embargo on sales of arms to Israel "was based on the excuse that the Israelis were the aggressors in the 1967 war." De Gaulle stopped all French sales of arms to Israel immediately after the Israeli air attack and commando raid on Beirut International Airport in December, 1968, that destroyed 13 civilian planes.

London. MYRNA BUSTANI.

Russia's Scapegoat

The Russians have perfected the art of sidetracking world attention. When Russia brutally suppressed Hungary's freedom fight in 1956, she got the United Nations to concentrate instead on Israel's repulsions of terrorists to the Suez Canal. When Russia invaded Afghanistan, she got the United Nations to call for menacing Security Council meetings to denounce Israel on

this or that issue. Now Russia engineers the rape of Poland, and Syria, Russia's proxy, has the General Assembly ostracize Israel for the alleged annexation of the Golan. Russia is still using czarist Russia's tactic of making the Jew a scapegoat for her problems.

FRED MANN.

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Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor," and must include the writer's address and signature. Priority is given to letters that are brief and do not request anonymity. Letters may be abridged. We are unable to acknowledge all letters, but value the views of readers who submit them.

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China and Vietnam Clash Twice at Sea

By Christopher S. Wren
New York Times Service

PEKING — China has seized a Vietnamese boat near the disputed Paracel Islands in the South China Sea following an incident in which China asserts Vietnamese gunboats fired on three Chinese fishing vessels and set them ablaze.

A brief announcement Thursday by the Chinese news agency asserted that Chinese guards stationed on the Paracel Islands, which China calls the Xisha, had caught a "Vietnamese reconnaissance boat" with a 10-man crew "intruding into China's territorial waters" on March 4.

The announcement said the case was still "under examination," indicating that the boat and crew were still detained.

The previous incident had occurred in waters to the west only a day earlier, on March 3, suggesting that China's seizure of the Vietnamese boat might have been a retaliatory measure to bargain for the release of captured Chinese fishermen.

According to a protest note delivered by the Chinese Foreign Ministry to the Vietnamese Em-

bassy in Peking, 11 Chinese boats had been fishing in open waters of the South China Sea when they were shelled by two Vietnamese gunboats. As a result of the attack, the Chinese said, 18 of their fishermen were missing and six were wounded.

The note contended that one of its fishing boats, with 18 men aboard, exploded as a result of the heavy shelling. Another boat, the Chinese said, was hit by 14 shells, wounding the captain and five crewmen. The third boat, which also burst into flames, was seized with its crew by the Vietnamese, the note said.

Vietnam's version of the incident, which was released earlier by Hanoi radio and the Vietnam News Agency, contended that 40 armed Chinese vessels had been sent into Vietnamese waters from 4 to 10 miles (6 to 16 kilometers) off Binh Tri Thien province.

Vietnam charged that they were only there to "carry out espionage and provocations and obstruct the normal life of the Vietnamese fishermen," and had damaged a Vietnamese fishing boat.

"Militarymen on board Viet-

namese fishing vessels firmly resisted the Chinese intruding ships, setting ablaze three of them and capturing another near Con Co Island in Binh Tri Thien," the news agency said.

Despite the conflicting stories, the confrontation appeared to be the worst clash to take place at sea between China and Vietnam since the two former allies fought a short but bloody border war in early 1979.

There have since been other more minor incidents in the disputed waters of the South China Sea, with each side claiming that its vessels were peaceful fishing junks while the other's were marauding gunboats.

The veracity of the claims has been virtually impossible to check without more firsthand information, although the recent Chinese report about the attack on its boats on March 3 gave more details than usual. Why the Chinese waited so long to release it was not known.

The Chinese seizure of the Vietnamese boat on March 4, while less dramatic, is potentially more significant because it took place in

an area over which both countries claim sovereignty.

The Paracel Islands, which consist of hundreds of atolls and reefs, lie in waters that are thought to have offshore oil reserves. The Chinese have put troops on a number of the islands.

The latest charges follow reports of minor clashes along the disputed border during the lunar new year holidays in January. At that time, China accused Vietnam of killing or wounding several Chinese villagers.

In its protest to Vietnam earlier this week, the Chinese Foreign Ministry charged that "the Vietnamese authorities have gone so far as to dispatch naval vessels to make raids on Chinese fishing vessels on the high seas, thus creating a grave incident of bloodshed." It called Vietnam's "despicable" charges of Chinese intrusion "an attempt to cover up their sheer acts of piracy."

The Chinese government has demanded the return of the captured boat and crew, compensation for losses and an end to such incidents.

China Reveals Scandal In New Free Trade Zone

By Michael Parks
Los Angeles Times Service

PEKING — A major smuggling and black marketing scandal has been disclosed in one of China's new free trade zones, and it brought the current anti-corruption campaign close to the country's top leadership for the first time.

The Shenzhen branch of the China Electronics Import and Export Corp., operating in a free trade zone on the border with Hong Kong, apparently turned itself into a front for a huge smuggling operation for radios, tape recorders, televisions and wristwatches, all luxury items here, and then for their sale on the black market in Canton.

A lengthy report in the Communist Party newspaper People's Daily makes clear that this is not the only case — it is probably not even the biggest case, though millions of dollars are involved — of corruption in the Shenzhen special economic zone in southern China's Guangdong province.

"It is really shocking to learn that a state-owned economic organization, originally aimed at helping develop our national electronics industry, is now undercutting our own industry," the People's Daily said in an accompanying front-page editorial. While those involved should be brought to trial, the editorial continues, "we must also ask who approved such lavish spending of foreign exchange to import televisions and radios and why had the case remained unsolved for so long after it was first uncovered."

The free trade zones are part of the economic liberalization undertaken by Deng Xiaoping, the Communist Party deputy chairman, over the last three years and are an integral part of his "open door" policies. Such scandals and the questions they raise about who is profiting from the policies inevitably call Mr. Deng's leadership into question, and he moved precipitately two weeks ago to stress the need to eliminate corruption and severely punish those involved.

A Dumping Ban Sought in Pacific

The Associated Press

GENEVA — A conference of 20 countries on the environment in the South Pacific has voted to ban the dumping of nuclear waste in the region, the Geneva office of the U.N. Environment Program said Friday.

It said that the conference, which ended Thursday on Rarotonga, in the Cook Islands, adopted a declaration stating that "the storage and release of nuclear wastes in the Pacific region environment shall be prevented."

The declaration also said that "the testing of nuclear devices against the wishes of the people will not be permitted."

Guangdong province, however, is the home and political power base of Marshal Ye Jianying, 84, China's chief of state as chairman of the National People's Congress. Mr. Ye is widely believed by informed Chinese to have protected corrupt family members and political supporters and perhaps even to have profited from his position. These charges now have wide circulation in the Hong Kong press.

No anti-corruption campaign could be taken seriously unless it started in Guangdong, many Chinese said a month ago when the current effort was first announced. Mr. Deng reportedly visited Canton to launch it in late January during his still-unexplained five-week absence from Peking.

The usually well-informed Hong Kong journal Cheng Ming reports in its latest issue that Mr. Deng and his supporters concluded that the first moves would have to be made in Guangdong against those under Mr. Ye's protection in the past and that the next focus would be on Peking, where relatives of Hua Guofeng, deposed from the party chairmanship over a year ago, are said to be making hundreds of thousands of dollars from the open door policy.

Considerable Risk

Mr. Deng is taking considerable risk, however, in exposing his program of economic liberalization to charges that it has fostered corruption. Anticipating this, he declared, "We will introduce advanced technology and managerial experience (from abroad) and encourage foreign investment, but corruption, bribery, smuggling and other harmful and decadent things must not be imported."

Mr. Deng took the lead in the crackdown on corruption, addressing a major Politburo meeting on this issue and the need to reduce the bureaucracy. Later, a longtime associate asked the standing committee of the National People's Congress to strengthen the laws against corruption, setting minimum 10-year prison sentences and introducing life imprisonment and the death penalty for the most serious cases. These measures go into effect April 1, though corrupt officials will get an additional month to turn themselves in for more lenient treatment.

The Shenzhen branch of the electronics corporation apparently was importing completed televisions, radios and tape recorders as well as component parts for assembly and then selling them on the flourishing Canton black market. The racket was discovered when customs officials seized 5,000 tape recorders — after nearly 22,000 had already been smuggled in last year.

Two officials of the branch have been suspended and may be charged, the People's Daily said. Investigation of the case, lost at least \$700,000 in customs duties, a figure that should be multiplied 10 or 20 times to put the case in an American context.



Pope John Paul II blessed onlookers Friday in Assisi during a procession outside the Basilica of St. Francis to mark the 800th anniversary of the saint's birth. The pope met there with all 265 Italian bishops, who were holding a general assembly.

Pope Raises Problem Of Church-Czech Ties

By Henry Kamm
New York Times Service

ROME — Pope John Paul II has used the rare occasion of a visit by leaders of Roman Catholicism in Czechoslovakia to call attention to the continuing difficulties of the church in that country.

The pope spoke Thursday to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague and primate of his nation, and four other bishops who called on him. After expressing his joy at seeing them, the pope said: "But when I see that you are only five, I cannot help but ask myself: 'When will the moment come when there can be present the bishops of all the Czechoslovak dioceses?'"

The fact that most of the dioceses of your country are still vacant fills my soul with profound sorrow."

Seven of Czechoslovakia's 12 dioceses remain vacant in the absence of agreement between the Prague government and the Vatican. In a custom going back to the days when Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia belonged to the Habsburg empire, government consent is required for the naming of prelates, and since the rise to power of the Communist regime, most church nominees have been rejected by the government.

Regime Seeks Treaty
Karel Hruza, head of the Prague government's Secretariat for Church Affairs, said in an interview last December that the regime wanted to conclude a treaty with the Vatican and was engaged in regular discussions with Vatican representatives.

Mr. Hruza, who has been dealing with religious affairs since the 1950s, said the government was ready to discuss the filling of the seven remaining vacant sees.

Czechoslovak sources reported that the church hesitated to name candidates for the bishoprics because this exposed them to rejection.

John Paul II in his address raised also the church's concern over government restrictions on the number of priests and its effective intimidation of young men who want to enter seminaries. Two seminaries, one in the Czech region and the other in Slovakia, exist with government authorization.

"With sorrow, it must be pointed out that the number of seminarians is decreasing," he said.

European TV Channel
Is Urged in Strasbourg

Reuters

STRASBOURG — The European Parliament called Friday for the setting up of a new multinational television channel to promote European unity.

The parliament wants the 10 states of the European Economic Community to allocate the fifth channel of their new television satellites to a European-wide service. Most countries are expected to have five-channel satellites in orbit by 1985, able to beam programs beyond their national frontiers.

NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices March 12

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Market Summary

March 12, 1982

Dow Jones Averages				
Index	Close	High	Low	Open
30-Stock	2,115.14	2,125.00	2,105.00	2,110.00
Industrial	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Transportation	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Utilities	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00

Market Diaries

NYSE Most Actives				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

NYSE Index

Standard & Poor's Index				
Index	Close	High	Low	Open
500-Stock	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Industrial	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Transportation	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Utilities	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00

AMEX Most Actives

AMEX Stock Index				
Index	Close	High	Low	Open
AMEX	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Industrial	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Transportation	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Utilities	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00

Old-Lot Trading in N.Y.

Dow Jones Bond Averages				
Index	Close	High	Low	Open
30-Bond	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Industrial	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Transportation	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00
Utilities	1,185.14	1,195.00	1,175.00	1,180.00

13-Month Stock

13-Month Stock				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Bond

13-Month Bond				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Div.

13-Month Div.				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month P/E

13-Month P/E				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month High

13-Month High				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Low

13-Month Low				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Open

13-Month Open				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Close

13-Month Close				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month High

13-Month High				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Low

13-Month Low				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Open

13-Month Open				
Symbol	Volume	Price	Change	Open
IBM	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
AT&T	1,185,141	48.14	+0.01	48.13
GE	1,185,141	28.14	+0.01	28.13
AMT	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39
GO	1,185,141	118.51	+0.12	118.39

13-Month Close

Demvns	1.44	6.9	1	25%	25%
Demvns	.96	3.1	9	42%	37%
Demvns	.58	4.0289	6	15	14%
Demvns	1.12	9.8	5	18	11%
Demvns	1.12	14	6	103%	11%
Demvns	1.932	14	1	140	67
Demvns	1.7.45	14	1	1700	45%

Arts
Travel
Leisure

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune

Weekend

Il Duce Vita: Italy in the 1930s



Mussolini in a poster from the 1930s.

by Susan Lumsden

MILAN — In an Italy divided between left-wing and right-wing political extremists, the huge exhibition here on the 1930s, "Gli Anni Trenta: Arte e Cultura in Italia," is a courageous venture indeed. The self-analysis is also refreshing in a country known for its political juggling, where few talk openly about social fragmentation yet concern mounts daily. Finally, when artists and liberal professionals are complaining how difficult it is to work without political party membership and ordinary people frequently champion some sort of return to order unachieved in 35 years of coalition government, the exhibition is, at the least, timely.

That it is also the largest, in space used, ever staged in Europe and the most expensive, at more than \$1.5 million, in Italy just adds to the debate over "Anni Trenta," as it is abbreviated in the posters. Organized by Milan's municipal government (not incidentally a Socialist administration) in 19 sections in 4 main sites around the Piazza del Duomo, "Anni Trenta" covers everything from architecture to cinema to industry to fashion. The framework, however, is clearly political from its beginning underground in a renovated World War II bomb shelter.

Here, old newsreels of Mussolini exhorting the masses draw a continuous audience. Reactions vary: Early on a cold, foggy Saturday morning, a crowd of youths was highly amused by scenes of the Fascist dictator going by train up and down the country, making speeches and kissing babies; the newest commentators' references to Mussolini as the "Savior of Peace" was followed by the youths' outright laughter. The elders in the audience, however, seemed rather sentimental over the films of their late leader, shirless, suntanned and a mite peppy, stacking wheat and dancing with exuberant peasants.

Apart from movie newsreels and the radio, the propaganda instruments of Mussolini's totalitarian regime included posters, citizens' orders of merit, workers' recreation groups and schoolbooks. Some of the titles in view are: "Fascism Explained to Children," "Elements of a Fascist Culture for Every Type of School and Organization," "From the Roman Empire to Imperial Italy." Just before the exhibition opened, the curator of this section, Giordano Bruno Guerri, was obliged to remove its more controversial objects displayed above ground in the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele. These were

banners with Fascist slogans signed with the huge "M" for Mussolini, which was also used as a triumphal arch in Rome in 1938 when Mussolini returned from the Munich Conference. Justaposed with 1930s fighter planes in the busy shopping concourse, they were considered too provocative by civic officials.

What remains totally faithful to the era is the tubular structure in the form of a stylized plane identical to the one set up in the Galleria by the architects Persico and Nizzoli for the 1934 aeronautical show. Instead of fiery Fascist slogans, the structure now displays such homilies as "Mussolini is always right" and "If you eat too much, you are plundering the nation."

There are also lists of statistics showing, in effect, how daily life was better under the Fascist regime. This is what keeps the Fascist memory alive and tempting in Italy today. Not only did the trains run on time, but Italians had a larger middle class and ate more protein than before or since. As the Italian saying goes, "We were better off when we were worse off."

Indeed, the controversial 1930s offered much to be proud of. Today's celebrated Italian design in everything from cars to clothes got a foothold through Fascist state subsidies. The great exhibitions, the Monza and Milan Triennales, encouraged excellence through esthetic competition. But the Olivetti typewriters, Lancia cars and Schiaparelli gowns all had to wait until well after the war to capture an international market. Interestingly, the women's 1930s sportswear on display could be worn without apology today; so could the jewelry and the shoes.

Perhaps the Italian genius for survival is best shown in the two sections on the art and architecture of the 1930s. Some of the names attributed to the monumental architecture and decoration of the Fascist regime shown in the Palazzo Reale are also to be found in the Sagrato del Duomo. Italians have long separated the dues owed to Caesar and Christ, but have paid them both. Carrà, Campigli and De Chirico were no exceptions.

Unlike his contemporaries Hitler and Stalin, Mussolini made little effort to influence or ban artistic opposition. He didn't have to. While German artists of the 1930s fled, mainly to the United States, the Italians stayed for the most part, pleased to participate on advisory committees and in the great exhibitions: It was the

Continued on page 9W



Ansel Adams on a Pacific Ocean beach near his home.

Ansel Adams, In Focus at 80

by Robert Strand

CARMEL, Calif. — Ansel Adams, America's photographer laureate, says one problem with younger craftsmen is that they don't believe in hard work. Speaking in his home here, Adams, who turned 80 last month, says that he still works eight-hour days and that for him "retirement would be terrible."

"I feel good," continues Adams, who has had a heart bypass operation. "I just get tired quicker."

This summer, for the first time in decades, Adams will not visit his beloved Yosemite Valley to conduct a workshop for young photographers. The altitude has begun to bother him. He will instead teach the students near his home.

As he speaks, Adams nurses a bourbon and water in front of a 25-foot-high window looking onto the rugged coastline. As the sun goes down, he jumps up, exclaiming, "Have you ever seen a green flash?" Sure enough, his eye has found in the sunset a brief aquamarine effect in the diffusion of colors.

The treatment of light is an Adams specialty. The "zone system" of light exposures, universally taught in college courses, was his invention. In photographic history, Adams is also noted for visualizing — before snapping the shutter — "the found object" with all the passion it can invoke. "I see the photograph in my mind's eye," he explains. "I make it and give it to you as the equivalent of what I felt and saw."

Adams' works are dramatic, with commanding themes: His prints of the West defined the region for most Americans. His art distinguishes between the camera's documentary uses and its esthetic — or emotional — uses. What's wrong with contemporary photography is a lack of esthetic motivation, says Adams, arguing that photographers did a somewhat better job during the Civil War than during recent military conflicts. Adams also thinks creative photographers today suffer from a lack of something to say, a condition that he says might be remedied by some large new experience shared by society, such as the Great Depression.

In his workshops, Adams has taught nearly 5,000 young photographers, an experience that prompts him to complain about "a disturbing lack of craftsmanship."

"Artistic success requires hard work," he says. "You have to do it in music, but photographers don't believe it. They think you just take a picture." Besides technical skill, Adams feels creative success requires knowing life as a whole; a person needs something to express. "I know that sounds a little pompous, but it's true."

Adams credits his own meticulousness and structural photographic perceptions to long hours as a boy at the piano under the tutelage of a Prussian music professor. Adams says he nearly achieved the level of a concert pianist, and occasionally still plays despite his now-arthritis fingers.

He grew up in San Francisco. In the 1906 earthquake, the boy, then 4, was tumbled by an aftershock into a brick wall, breaking his nose and leaving him with an obvious distortion. The family doctor said fix it when he matures. Adams chuckles. "But of course I never did mature, so I still have the nose."

His career was ultimately determined by a 1916 trip to Yosemite Valley with his father and a Kodak Brownie box camera. It was at Yosemite that Adams was married more than 50 years ago, saw the birth of one of his two children and tramped through the mountains as a guide and photographer for the Sierra Club. The association with the Sierra Club, for which he was a director for 34 years, brought Adams to the forefront as a conservationist and a photographer of natural wonders.

But his early pictures were not exceptional. For the young man the camera was a tool "to record where I went and who I was with — what tree I slept under." A big change occurred with the famous 1927 photo of Half Dome in Yosemite that Adams says was the first in which he employed "visualization," or deciding in advance how the result would look.

Then, in 1929 at a friend's house in Taos, N.M., Adams met Paul Strand, a photographer 16 years his senior. Looking over Strand's shoulder, Adams saw negatives that "flipped me out" because of their deliberate composition. "Strand was the turning point," he says. "I came home thinking, 'Now photography exists.' That convinced me I really wanted to be a photographer."

These days Adams rarely picks up a camera. Instead, he spends his mornings making prints from thousands of negatives he has collected. A single print takes many attempts and hours. "The negative is the score," he has often said. "The print is the performance." Afternoons are spent writing on a word processor, a machine that delights Adams, a lover of technology. Having written voluminously about his art, he is finishing an autobiography.

Books of his photographs have sold more than a million copies and a single oversized Adams print recently went for \$71,000. Prices skyrocketed when he stopped making commercial prints in 1976, restricting his output by contract to projects for museums and public exhibits. As a result, the new prices benefit dealers, not necessarily Adams. Current prices, he says with a laugh, are ridiculous. "Don't they know I'm not dead yet?"

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Why Do Designer Clothes Cost So Much?

by John Duka

NEW YORK — Geraldine Stutz, the president of Henri Bendel, recently called some of them "frankly immoral." Helen Galland, the president of Bonwit Teller, said that some of them "were not realistic." And Marvin Traub, the chairman of Bloomingdale's, allowed that many of them "were extremely expensive."

What this group of leading New York retailers was referring to, in surprisingly forthright terms, were the prices of last fall's designer clothing.

In the last two years the prices of designer fashions have increased as much as 50 percent, in part because of increases in labor, fabric and inflationary pressure. In 1980, for example, a Perry Ellis striped linen blazer cost \$190. This spring, a similar striped linen blazer costs \$290. And a suede skirt from Calvin Klein that cost \$320 in 1980 cost \$550 for a longer, fuller version last fall.

Until last fall, stores here say, they had encountered little consumer resistance to the prices of either foreign or U.S. designer goods. The top sellers, almost without exception, were expensive merchandise: imports, evening clothes, better American designer clothing and suede. In other words, the crime, consumers say, Jean Rosenberg, vice president and merchandise director of Bendel's, are "buying freely." Retailers were optimistic. And, more than once, they voiced the sentiment that no matter how much the price of this merchandise increased, there always seemed to be the customer willing to pay it.

But in October the stores experienced a precipitous drop in sales, lasting to January, that officials now attribute to price. Major clothing stores discovered that there may be far fewer customers willing to pay high prices.

As Ellis says, "Most of us have decided that we need less. People are going for quality. You have to really need or want something to buy it."

But why do clothes cost so much? Is it design innovation we pay for? Is it quality of fabric? Workmanship? Have we mentioned beauty? Or, as many consumers fear, are we really

being tipped off? Are clothes being given unrealistic markups by the stores? Are we merely paying for a designer's name?

"No," says Klein, "the consumer is not paying for a designer's name. The cost of fabric and labor rises every year. Suede costs \$4 per square foot, and one suede dress takes 40 square feet. Clothing that requires more fabric or complicated detailing is more expensive. We don't give my clothes an extra markup because they're mine. That would be foolish."

The fact is that everything one sees on a garment, from a buttonhole to pin tucks, costs something. The key words in figuring the costs of garments are fabric, labor and markup. To the layman, however, these are at best cryptic terms. But how all three work together is germane to understanding the pricing of today's clothes.

The price of every garment is broken down, or "priced out," in a number of steps on calculation sheets. The price of materials includes not just the amount of yardage or fabric needed to make a garment, but the trappings it may require — the buttons, zippers, braid and internal foundation cloth. A skirt that is short and narrow costs less than a full, calf-length skirt because it requires less fabric.

Labor costs include every step required to make a garment, and that cost is what the designer pays the contractor, the person who employs the sewers, pressers, finishers, cutters of fabric, the drapers and even the janitors. If a hem on a dress or blouse is hand-rolled, for example, the hand-roller must be paid and \$4 is added to the price. Three buttonholes may cost 15 cents. If a garment needs as many as eight different steam-pressings for proper shape, each pressing costs. This season, as in seasons past, the cost of the yardage, or fabric, has increased by a little more than 10 percent. So has the price of labor.

But there are buttonholes and there are buttonholes. Leonard Bergstein, the production manager at Bill Blass, says, "I can make any garment for any price, and what looks like the same garment at different prices. But if you pay less for your labor, you'll end up with stitches that are farther apart, with garments that aren't as well made."

One of Bill Blass' crepe de chine overblouses

for spring required one and three-quarter yards of fabric at \$29.25 a yard, bringing the total fabric price to \$51.19. Trimmings brought the total cost of materials to \$59. Then the cost of labor, \$59, was added. To this, what are known as fringe costs are added, which cover Social Security and health benefits for the contractor's workers as well as the contractor's overhead and profit. The fringe costs were \$24.78. The total cost, then, of the blouse to Blass was \$143.28.

This is where markup comes in. For the designer, markup has traditionally determined the wholesale price at which he will sell the finished garment to the department store and it is, again traditionally, usually double the actual cost of producing the garment. "Markup," says Bergstein, "is the amount of money the accountant tells us we need to pay the operating expenses of our company and to make a profit."

Operating expenses, however, also cover business expenses that have more to do with life style than with fabric prices — lunches with clients, limousine service, even nighttime entertaining.

Thus, the blouse that cost Blass \$143.28 is marked up to \$293 wholesale, the price the store pays for it. (There is a discount for payment within 10 days.) The store, in turn, marks up the price to the consumer so that it, too, can cover its overhead and make a profit. Standard markup again is double. So what started out as a \$143.28 blouse ultimately became one that retailed for \$600.

But neither stores nor designers always adhere to the 100 percent markup. Sometimes the markup is less. If the designer feels that a particular garment will be a top seller, he will ask for a smaller markup so that more garments are ordered by the store.

"Markup is also a visual thing," Ellis says. "If you apply the markup formula to every garment, it doesn't always work. The standard markup is often too much for what the garment looks like and sometimes we ask for a smaller markup."

And sometimes the markup is more than 100 percent. Imported clothing is given a standard markup of three times the wholesale cost by stores. If, for example, the wholesale price

of a garment from a European designer is \$300, the "landed" cost, the amount paid when the garment literally lands in the United States — \$200 plus duty, shipping and insurance — will be about \$300 to the retailer. The store will then double that amount, charging the consumer \$600.

Most retailers take more or less the same markup on identical garments. Where they can ethically charge more than the standard 100 percent markup, however, is on exclusive items or on garments that are made under their private labels. "If you have an exclusive," says one merchandise manager, "you can have your own markup."

Increasingly, merchants are also using a form of retailing called "private label." This means, for example, that a store orders garments to its own specifications from a contractor, more or less eliminating the name designer as middleman. If the contractor charges the store \$25 for a pair of trousers, the store can raise that price to \$100, make a nice profit on its investment and still offer the consumer a product of fairly good quality.

As one retailer says, "The retail line is that private label is one way to maximize the individuality of the stores. It's really just a good way to make money."

But that is, after all, what stores must do. And, as Kal Ruttenstein, vice president and fashion director of Bloomingdale's, says, "It's getting harder every year to make a buck."

Indeed it is. If the prices of fabric and labor are increasing, so are the operating costs of department stores. And all along the way, designers and retailers must absorb these increases and try, at the same time, to stay afloat.

But what about the consumer? Stores and designers say they are trying to put more value into their clothing. They say they are trying to hold the line on price. However, Traub, the Bloomingdale's chairman, says, "Although clothing prices are not going to go up dramatically, they can't go down."

That may be, but if the consumer finds the prices for the new spring clothes are too steep, she may do what a good many did last season — wait for those markups to get marked down.

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Dempster, Dumpster of the Royal Dirt

by Jean Rafferty

LONDON — "American gossip has no nitty-gritty. It stops at the front door. English gossip starts at the bedroom door," says Nigel Dempster, a leader of the pack of Fleet Street columnists who write the daily diaries that appear in most British national newspapers — diaries that range from stylish essays in the quality papers down to the frank obsession with the peccadilloes of the privileged shown by the popular press.

Dempster, 40, who has been editing the lively Daily Mail gossip column since 1973, is more concerned with the faults and foibles of the famous than with subtle considerations of politics and finance. So it is no surprise to find his best-selling book on Princess Margaret literally sprinkled with "jazzy holidays, adultery and divorces" — pastimes Dempster says he spends his life writing about — even though his time the bedroom door in question is in Kensington Palace.

"I'm not a gushy biographer," says Dempster with some understatement. He describes the book — "I.R.H. The Princess Margaret: A Life Unfulfilled" — which added 225,000 copies to the Daily Mail's 1.9 million circulation when it was serialized, as a "royal first." "It is a book that lays bare personal relationships, there has never been a royal book with direct



Nigel Dempster.

quotes before, and there has never been a royal book with sex.

Dempster's opus got its start 12 years ago in a meeting with the princess on the Caribbean

island of Mustique, where much of the book's action takes place. "Over the years, I've spent hours with Princess Margaret — on Mustique and in London," he says. "We've been friendly ever since that first meeting. She rings me; I ring her. Every quote in the book is a quote to me."

Some of the quotes make slow reading, he concedes, especially the historical remins of the princess' youth that begins the book. "I don't think Princess Margaret did anything wrong until Chapter 5," says Dempster, who admits to having been slightly bored with his dip into history. "But it was interesting to see that she was turned down by two dukes before she even fell in love with Peter Townsend."

Dempster soon puts history aside, as he describes the strain in the Princess' marriage to the Earl of Snowdon and turns to innuendos of a royal drug overdose and intimations of royal "emotional involvements" and "dalliance" with, among others, the late Robin Douglas-Homes, jazz pianist nephew of the former prime minister, the Earl of Lichfield, Margaret's distant cousin, and actor Peter Sellers, culminating in a full report of the princess' seven-year friendship with Roddy Llewellyn, 17 years her junior.

Other choice bits of gossip concern Lord Snowdon's bohemian behavior, which attracted comment even before the wedding — when his first two choices for best men were unacceptable to the Palace. His final choice, says

Dempster, was "refreshingly heterosexual." Dempster says that Snowdon had liaisons during his marriage and describes the end of an affair with Lady Jacqueline Rufus-Isaacs, daughter of the Marquess of Reading. When the story broke, Lady Jacqueline rang Snowdon from ex-boyfriend Dempster's hotel room in Gstaad, Switzerland, then went back to her chalet, where she later, according to Dempster, became involved with a future royal escort — Llewellyn.

Although not all readers will have the advantage of referring to Dempster's column to keep the cast of wayward aristocrats straight, he expects it not to matter. "The Earl of Snowdon and the Earl of Lichfield are very well known in the States, and even if you don't know the present Earl of Marlborough or the Duke of Buccleuch, you know they are very rich. There are very few people in the book who aren't extremely rich, and the very rich are identifiable. The life I am writing about is that life."

Dempster says the Princess was "slightly depressed" when the book came out, although he arranged to have the serialization appear while she was on Mustique. "The only way she can judge public reaction is by people writing to her. When she got back she found a lot of sympathetic letters from people who said they

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Adams' 'Aspens, Northern New Mexico' (1958).

Finnish Design at a Stroller's Pace

by R. W. Apple Jr.

HELSINKI — Man for man and woman for woman, Finland has probably produced as much good design in the last three decades as any other country. Much of it is available outside Finland, but it can be difficult to find and is invariably rather expensive because of shipping costs and duty.

The visitor to Helsinki, on the other hand, can find most of the best on or near a downtown street with the jawbreaking name of Pohjoisesplanadi, which means, more or less, Northern Boulevard. Almost without exception, the prices will be considerably lower and the selection considerably better than outside Finland.

Pohjoisesplanadi, at least the part that concerns us here, runs four or five blocks from the Swedish Theater to the open public market. Popping in and out of the stores makes a pleasant and unusual half-day stroll through a kind of ad hoc museum of design where you can buy the exhibits.

The first cross street as you start out from the theater is called Keskuskatu. A few steps to the north, on the right side at No. 4, you will find the Rautatalo Building, designed by the great Finnish architect Alvar Aalto, and in it, the Artek shop.

Artek was founded by Aalto, his first wife, Aino, and a wealthy couple named Harry and Maire Gullichsen, for whom Aalto had designed a factory and a summer house. It manufactures furniture, textiles and lamps that he designed, and the retail shop sells these as well as other products.

Without doubt the most famous of all the Aalto designs is the tea trolley, which New York's Museum of Modern Art proposed to its members last year as a luxurious Christmas present. With the member's discount, the museum charged \$975 for the trolley, with which Aalto brought to fruition the experiments with curved birch that he began with chairs in the 1920s. In Helsinki, the price is the equivalent of about \$350, to which you must add shipping and insurance but from which you can subtract sales tax. It shouldn't add up to more than \$450. There is also a more elaborate version with a tile, rather than a linoleum, top for about \$550.

The vase that Aalto designed for the Savoy Restaurant, just across the park from Pohjoisesplanadi, is also available at Artek — not only the one that you see in shops in New York or Milan in clear or milky glass, but also a much larger and much squarer version that I have never seen anywhere else. The uncommon varieties, whatever the shape, cost \$185 each. Aalto's three-legged, round-top birch

stools, which nest nicely, to be pulled from a corner when there are more guests than chairs, cost \$35 apiece and are available with seats in a variety of colors and finishes.

In a section devoted to housewares, there are brown ceramic bowls from the old town of Porvoo, just down the coast, roundish chrome steel casseroles designed by Timo Sarpaneva and wonderful oversized Swedish coffee cups in white china.

Finally, be sure to look at the silver jewelry, especially the collars with pendants containing semiprecious stones. They are by no means cheap at \$300 to \$500, but they are a delight to contemplate.

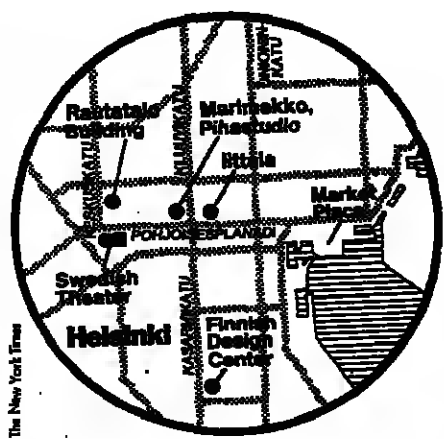
Now, back to the boulevard and turn left, walking toward Marimekko at Pohjoisesplanadi 31. This is the main store of the Finnish textile house founded after World War II by the late Armi Ratia, and it offers an array of items that are either unavailable or more costly at the New York outlet. I also find that it often has more recent and more innovative fabric designs — especially those of the gifted Japanese Fujiwara Isomoto and the equally talented Finn Pentti Rinta — than are to be found in foreign outlets.

Marimekko means "a little dress for Mary," and Marimekko clothes are worn by Finnish women of all economic groups. In the main showroom in Helsinki, you will find hundreds of designs, with many of the simple cotton frocks costing only \$50 to \$65. In the fabric department, the prices vary widely, as do the designs, ranging from the bold, splashy flower prints of Majja Isola, which were so popular in the United States in the 1960s, to the subtle, feathery prints of Pöytä. On a recent visit, I particularly liked a brightly colored print of children's toys by Katja Waisanen.

Another favorite of mine is the carryalls designed by Ristomatti Ranta, the founder's son, who now oversees Marimekko's North American operation. They come in all sizes and shapes, from handbags to duffels to beach bags to a carry-on suit bag at \$105. The most practical, in my view, is a bag that looks like a normal canvas sailing bag, with loop handles. It folds flat in the bottom of a traveler's suitcase, then opens to carry an astonishing amount of accumulated junk for the trip home. Its special feature is a zippered top, invisible unless it is needed, that makes it possible to check the bag on airlines. It costs about \$45 and will withstand careful washing and drying.

In the rear of the store, connected to the main showroom by a corridor, is the Pihastudio, which is full of inexpensive gift items, from scarves to tin trays to place mats to T-shirts, all in Marimekko patterns, plus Ristomatti Ranta's elegant line of hanging lamps.

By now you probably need a rest, so turn into Klumvikatu, and on your right, you will



see Fazer, one of the best coffeehouses in town, with good Danish pastry and delicious ice cream. On your way, you will pass Bito, which has interesting Finnish furniture of a somewhat less classic character than Artek.

Back on the boulevard, you might want to look in at Iittala's new shop at No. 25. They have a very pretty Sarpaneva decanter for \$35 and at Pentti, which makes modish leather and suede coats that cost from \$250 to \$800 and are worth every penny. But the main goal is the Arabia shop just a few doors farther along, which has some of the most beautiful things in Helsinki, mixed inexplicably with a few that seem more worthy of a dime store.

The store stocks all the Arabia stoneware patterns at good prices: in most, a dinner plate costs \$7.50 and a large coffee cup and saucer about \$8.50. There are enamel mixing bowls for \$8, porcelain soufflé dishes for \$12 and large numbers of other items by some of the country's best designers, including Kaj Frank and Tapio Wirkkala.

Two additional thoughts: If you want to see the newest in Finnish design, that being turned out by the youngsters, you should go to the other stark Finnish Design Center at Kasarmikatu 19. They sell nothing on the premises, but will give you an address where you can buy whatever strikes your fancy.

And if you want lunch at the end of your stroll, I would suggest Havis Amanda, at the corner of Unioninkatu and Pohjoisesplanadi, almost to the market place. For about \$50 for two, including drinks and service, they will serve you the best fish in town (including, in late July and August, the Finnish crayfish). If that price is too steep, there are several small restaurants at the rear of the Swedish Theater.

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That New Avalanche Trigger, the Skier

by Mavis Guinand

VALAIS, Switzerland — Come spring, all good skiers dream of tracing lazy "S" curves on acres of powder snow far from the rumble of snowcats and lifts. The dream can quickly go wrong: Last year, avalanches killed 26 people in Switzerland, 57 in France and 19 in Austria.

Some avalanches are unpredictable, others not. Alpine rescue experts are concerned that more and more incidents are caused by irresponsible skiers. The French report for 1977-78 laid 13 avalanches to natural causes, 24 to skiers. In 1979-80, a Swiss report found that 24 of the 27 killed by avalanches were skiers; only 2 were on patrolled slopes.

Back from a meeting of the International Alpine Rescue Committee in Yugoslavia, Louis Vuilloud, a Valaisian guide, concludes: "Youngsters are increasingly foolhardy. They venture off into powder snow, triggering and being carried off by avalanches." Pierre-Alain Bruchez, a former coach of the Swiss ski team and a mountain guide, snaps: "They are irresponsible, criminal. The worst are the Swedes and the Americans." Fernand Molien, head of the Diablerets ski school, does not fault the skiers' technique or their equipment but their ignorance of local mountain conditions. "They are unable to recognize danger signals. Before, one used to ski early in the morning when the snow was hard and only covered with a thin layer of corn snow. Now they go off in the afternoon and gouge deep tracks in the softened snow."

The Swiss guides criticize the youngsters' daring. "They will wander off along the ridges, explore narrow passages between the rocks. Not even a fine skier should risk it; even if he gets through, a lesser skier may try to follow the trail, slipping under the ropes, ignoring the yellow-and-black-checked avalanche warning or even the ski patrolmen posted to stop them. They endanger all other skiers below as well as their rescuers."

In Europe's most densely populated Alpine area, the Swiss have learned to meet the risk of avalanches. Beginning with a modest expenditure of 2,000 francs in 1876, Switzerland has spent more than 500 million Swiss francs (about \$270 million) in reforestation and the construction of metal or concrete avalanche

barriers and steel nets to protect mountain villages and communications.

Scientists in the United States have recently reported that the culprit in most large snowslides is a granular, unstable layer of ice, known as depth hoar, that develops deep beneath mountain snow and yields to pressure. Avalanches may be caused by heavy snowfalls and wind, or by a period of rising temperatures and sun. Other factors add up: the gradient of a slope and its orientation, sunshine, the temperature of the air and snow, the force and direction of the wind. Some avalanches take the same route year after year. An avalanche of cold, dry snow whooshes down at 400 kilometers an hour — this is the type that destroyed a 270-ton bridge near Arolla in 1970. An avalanche of wet, heavy snow has a force of 100 tons per square meter.

About 90 percent of the avalanches come from unstable masses of snow piled up by the wind on steep northern or eastern slopes. Rather than sit and wait for the snow to fall, the Swiss often prefer to take the offensive. In the past, they have used shovels, gunfire and bazookas, now they fly in with helicopters. During the heavy snowfalls of January, at the resorts' request, Air-Glaciers' copters took off on regular rounds around the Valais, where more than 40 summits top 4,000 meters. Sitting on several hundred kilograms of explosives and hovering over a menacing overhang, the pilot lights the fuse and tosses a bomb out, using up to 2 tons of explosives a day. The costly (12 francs a kilo of explosive and 30 francs a helicopter minute) operation was worth it. Only 4 avalanche deaths were reported — half those reported in the same period in preceding years.

The avalanche situation is checked each morning by 60 observers posted throughout the Swiss Alps. They measure the quantity of new snow, the quality of the crystals, the temperature of the air and the snow at the surface and at a depth of 10 centimeters, the direction and speed of the wind. This local information is sent to the Avalanche Institute at Davos to be evaluated and computerized. By dialing 120, anyone in Switzerland may obtain the latest snow conditions and avalanche bulletins for the resorts.

(While the Swiss rely on a network of mountain guides, ski instructors and custom officials for their reports, France has set up a system of

automatic observation stations that transmit data via satellite to the Avalanche and Snow Studies Center at Grenoble.)

Diagnosis and prevention are not enough if an individual skier is taking chances and going off in the mountains alone. At a meeting held in Les Diablerets this fall to discuss mountain security, Sylvio Redondini of the GASS, a permanent air rescue operation, insisted it was useless to forbid this practice. "The reason people break rules is because it carries an image of freedom," he said. "They are tired of being herded along highways and crowded pistes. Improved equipment and technique make it possible for them to go into the powder snow. That's great. But they simply must learn about the risk. They must be properly prepared by attending courses and going with a guide at first."

The Swiss Alpine Club, the Association of Mountain Guides and Swiss ski instructors are putting the accent on safety education. In an advanced course at St. Moritz, the instructor discussed not only how to make pretty turns but also how to recognize danger signs. "Beware of fissures, of a crest blown free of snow, watch the direction of the wind. Prod the snow ahead — if the pole goes in too deep and easy, turn back."

Martin Epp, who has scaled the north face of the Eiger and conducted ski mountaineering courses since 1970, warns powder buffs to "check on weather bulletins, tell people where you are going." Other advice includes freeing the wrists from pole straps and adjusting the ski bindings so that a nudge gets them off. If in real danger in a group, cross the slope one at a time, diagonally, even if it means climbing up on the other side. If the avalanche comes, ski off to the edges — nobody can outchute an avalanche. If overtaken, try swimming motions to stay close to the surface.

A dry avalanche asphyxiates the victim by driving cold particles into the lungs. "It should become a reflex to pull your sweater over your mouth," guides say. If buried, there is a chance to survive. People have kept alive by scooping out a breathing hole in front of their mouths before drifting into unconsciousness. Body temperature is lowered and functions slow down. The snow cools but it also protects the body from the surrounding cold.

The rest depends on a prompt rescue.

Some Serious Talk About Farce

LONDON — Farce, Michael Frayn argues, works only if the characters are "human beings with a sense of desperation and their backs against the wall. The audience has got to sweat with embarrassment on their behalf." It's not just a question of writing frenetically paced dialogue for players who furiously exit stage left just in time for the heroine to enter stage right.

For "Noises Off," his first stab at the genre, Frayn took about two years to write after mulling it over for more than a decade. After battling with the mechanics of farce, he raises his hat unhesitatingly to the master of the art, the Frenchman Georges Feydeau. "Farce is very difficult to write. Feydeau used to write his in one draft — how he did it, I just don't know," Frayn says.

Frayn's farce, running at the Lyric, Hammersmith until the end of March when it moves to the West End, tells of a touring the-

ater company "playing a crummy farce in the provinces. It's a double farce with one being played up front and one behind stage," the author explains. The cast's matey relationship in rehearsals finally deteriorates into chaos on stage, a situation that demands a display of bravura acting from Paul Eddington and Nicky Henson.

For Frayn, it is his eighth play since 1970. The theater now seems the principal medium of the man who worked for a decade as a Fleet Street columnist on the Guardian and the Observer, published five novels, wrote translations for the National Theater, did television documentaries on Berlin and Vienna and even found time to produce a volume of philosophy. This curriculum vitae supports the critic who wrote, "For too long British culture has tacitly insisted that talented people give evidence of having decided whether they are funny or clever. Michael Frayn has abolished that distinction."

But why his passion for the theater? Frayn, who 25 years after graduating from Cambridge still has the look of a hungry, eternal student, feels that writing plays "is so disciplined — that's the attraction. You have to learn to simplify, shorten and tighten."

His plays have certainly been varied in outlook — his last offering, the award-winning "Make and Break," recounted the saga of a sales representative at the Frankfurt Trade Fair. "Clouds" told the tale of a press junkie to Cuba. "Donkey's Years" was about a Cambridge reunion and "Alphabetical Order" was set in the clipping room of a provincial newspaper's library.

Summing up his plays with the mixture of thoughtfulness and sardonic humor that is typical of his dialogue, Frayn concludes, "They are all based on philosophical ideas. But no one notices — otherwise the audiences might stay away in droves."

Italy in the 1930s

Continued from page 7W

classic Italian game of joining in before being left out of the spoils of the new regime.

The result was that the civic art and architecture of the 1930s are considerably more pleasing and human than their equivalents in Russia and Germany. While the Milan courthouse may not be the well-tempered monument, the EUR housing project in Rome is closer to it. Many of the country's train stations and post offices were also built in the 1930s. During the debate between monumental and rationalist schools, such architects as

Gio Ponti, Portaluppi and Nervi continued to design and build.

That Guttuso, De Pisis and Morandi also continued to paint what they wanted through the war meant that some artistic environment remained afterward for the design boom of the 1950s and 1960s. It might not have much to do with intellectual integrity, English style, but it had a lot to do with humanity, and turned out to be good for business, too.

Mussolini, himself, "was aware of his own limits to the face of his people. He didn't ban

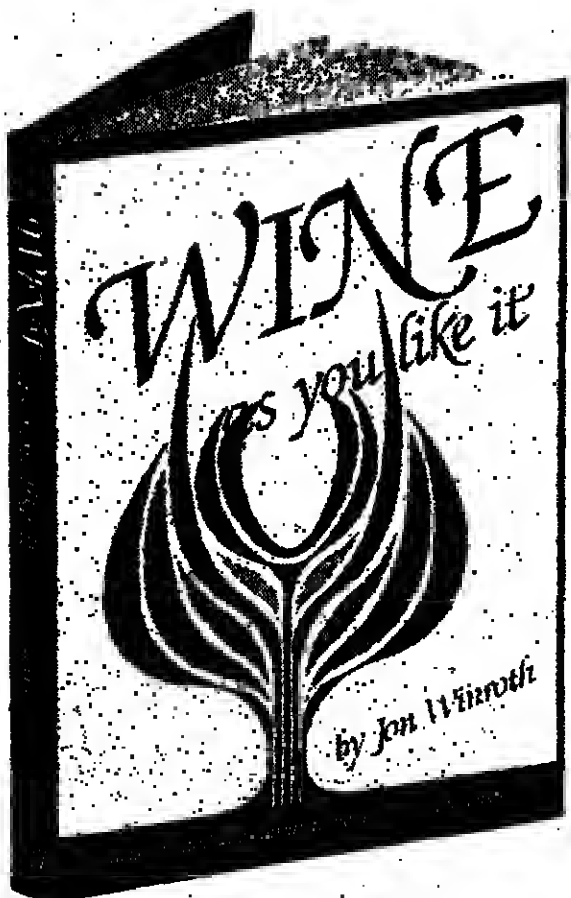
artistic opposition. Perhaps he didn't dare to. In 1933, seven years before he joined Hitler's side in World War II, Mussolini commented on the banning of lipstick and rouge in Germany:

"Any power whatsoever is destined to fall before fashion. If fashion says skirts are to be short, you will not succeed in lengthening them, even with the guillotine." A precious piece of advice from one dictator to another.

"Annippena" can be seen from 9:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. every day except Monday until April 30.

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Rome's Guggenheim Family Reunion

by Edith Schloss

ROME — Under the sway of Countess Hilla von Rebay, Solomon R. Guggenheim opened in 1939 one of the first institutions that permanently exhibited international modern art in the United States. In the 1940s, the Museum of Non-Objective Painting was an airy place, mostly filled with huge abstractions painted by Rebay's friend Baur, with large floating rounds like balloons in azure spaces in bulging frames, large, cozy couches, curtains billowing in the stream of a then-rare air conditioning system, and the discreet strains of Bach organ music. The cool, light rooms and the rarefied atmosphere attracted us art students and we also came to chat with the guards, other art students on the job.

Today, when modern museums are like mad fairgrounds that can hardly contain ever-increasing swarms of visitors, it is hard to imagine how "The Guggenheim" and "The Modern" were refuges, "our club," places where art lovers passionately looked at and talked about art — though we deplored the fact we were so few and wanted "everyone" to come. Little did we dream how soon our wish would be fulfilled, and with what a vengeance! (And all this before James Johnson Sweeney changed the set-up of the museum — it acquired a vast scope and in 1959 moved from East 54th Street into Frank Lloyd Wright's spiral tower on Fifth Avenue and 89th Street.)

Meanwhile another member of the Guggenheim family had become involved with art and artists in a most passionate and personal way. Peggy Guggenheim, a "poor relation" of Solomon, collected and bought with an unerring instinct for quality, and encouraged unrecognized artists in London, Paris and New York, while even marrying some.

Toward the end of World War II her Art of this Century gallery on 57th Street in New York became another haven for the select few. Here it was that we could wander through a surrealist maze designed by Frederick Kieser and could admire Duchamp's moustachioed Mona Lisa, Max Ernst's frottages and Laurence Vail's curious vases, among other objects; here we saw Pollock's canvases for the first time, feeling puzzled and uncomfortable in front of them; here we could listen to Motherwell lecturing students; and it was here that De Kooning was invited to show for the very first time, in a group show, only to remove his wet canvas, assailed by a storm of doubts, the day before the opening.

But after the war Peggy, who never had enjoyed living in America, did not, as most of the art world expected, take up her Guggenheim Jeanne gallery in London again. "I had two dogs and I didn't want to subject the poor things to English quarantine," was one reason she did not return to London, as she explained in a radio interview in 1978. The other was "I had probably a lot of enemies there too because of my writing" — her "Out of This Century" autobiography in which she freely and frankly discussed "everybody," let alone friends, husbands and lovers. "No, it had to be Venice," she continued, "I fell in love with Venice when I went there for the first time in 1921."

And to Venice she proceeded, this lady with great intuition, a spiky woman to say the least, as eccentric as the English lords on the Grand

Tour before her, but with an eye wide open to art and artists like few others. And with her collection open to the public she lived in the unfinished Palazzo Venier dei Leoni on the Grand Canal happily ever after.

Though she had a difficult rapport with her uncle and the directors of his museum, after her death in 1979 it was naturally the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum administration in New York that was most eminently suited to take over her possessions and care for them and so it happened that the two famous Guggenheim collections on both sides of the Atlantic were finally joined.

But only here this month are selections from both together for the first time under one roof, at the Capitoline Museum, until March 28.

An exhibition of 60 works from both Venice and New York, the show contains examples from all the movements and directions, from the turn of the century until World War II. Cubism, German expressionism, orphism, futurism, De Stijl, constructivism, metaphysical art, surrealism, early American abstract expressionism, they are all here.

And from such rich collections how could there be anything but undisputable masterpieces. Braque, Picasso, Léger, Klee anyone? Chagall's bride, Modigliani, the clear order of Mondrian, of course they are here. We have seen most of these works reproduced in oh so many publications on the subject that they are art history monuments by now, making the whole show itself, so tidily under glass, look almost like a catalog.

However most memorable and most appealing to our new tastes today are Delaunay's "Eiffel Tower," Malevich's cubist snowscape, Severini's "Red Cross Train," Miró's "Tilled Field," Kokoschka's touching double portrait of himself as a floating knight and his beloved Alma Mahler, Jawlensky's woman in her vivid red turban, Kirchner's incisive "Gerda," Franz Marc's tender Tyrolean landscape, Beckmann's sardonic and amusing Paris cocktail party, one of Kandinsky's earliest abstractions (1913) — the latter ones less felicitous — a Magritte dusk scene, sculptures by Giacometti and Brancusi.

There may be organizational reasons for the arbitrary time span chosen, for the fact that there are relatively early, not mature, Pollocks, that there are no Koonings, no Gustons, not one of Joseph Cornell's boxes from Venice nor one abstraction by Tancrède, one of Peggy's favorites.

But surely she herself, who had such a talent for plucking all that was raw and reckless in its own time, would have done the show differently — because even getting an exhibition together can be a creative act, can be an adventure. Here, in the overall view, it looks as if the fizz has gone out of these works once done by daring minds, institutionalized as they seem, caught under the bell jar of officialdom.

True, it is enjoyable to examine old friends again. And of course they are impeccable. But that is just the trouble. There is nothing unexpected for the international public, though that may be somewhat different for Italian viewers less exposed until now to the real presence of modern masterworks. But at the risk of seeming perverse, it must be confessed that coming upon a St. John as a young Roman boy by Caravaggio at the end of a corridor in the Capitoline Museum came as more of a jolt than the sight of all these long-familiar works from the two Guggenheim collections.

France Seals All Borders

by Souren Melikian

PARIS — In the last few months, three important works of art auctioned in France have been stopped from leaving the country. Each one illustrates a different set of circumstances, but in all three cases the buyers were taken by surprise, raising a major problem for French auctioneers and collectors, regardless of nationality.

The latest case concerns Simon Vouet's "Diana Departing for the Hunt." This was sold at Drouot by the Audap-Godeau-Solange group for 1,320,000 francs on March 5. As auctioneer Lucien Solange brought down his hammer, uttering the traditional *adieu* ("Goodbye"), a young woman stood up and asked, "Subject to the national museum's right to pre-empt — to substitute themselves for the last bidder. Such a procedure was instituted Dec. 31, 1921 to protect the national heritage."

Britain exercises a comparable right by subjecting works of art worth £8,000 or more to a reviewing committee that can withhold an export license for three months if the piece is deemed to be of national interest. During this time it is up to the concerned institution to meet the financial terms accepted by the foreign buyers.

In the case of the Vouet painting, the step taken to stop it from leaving France is only natural. The painting, as I pointed out in this column before, is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, done by the 17th-century master, who played a crucial role in the emergence of French classicism. Rumor has it that the work may hang in the city art museum at Lille, in northern France — not in the Louvre.

This provides an amusing insight into museum life. The Louvre curators were informed of the proposed sale long before the public heard about it and informally indicated they would not substitute themselves for the buyer at auction. Two reasons probably influenced their decision not to step in: Diana's left breast has been overpainted and the academic thinking rather favors the flamboyant Italianate period of the painter. Whatever the motivations, the auctioneer had good reason to feel safe.

What he could not foresee was the sudden yearning for a Vouet by a northern city whose mayor happens to be Pierre Mauroy, France's prime minister. Just for once, politics is a blessing in disguise — the painting will stay in the country where it belongs. The price makes it a bargain and will in retrospect seem absurdly low. The painting is vastly superior to Vouet's "Allegory of Fortune," admittedly a very fine piece bought by Agnew's in the same sale for 2,310,000 francs. The London firm assured this reporter it was buying the Vouet

"for stock," which is understandable; few good Vouets are still floating around. So far, so good.

The second painting recently prevented from leaving France is quite another problem, both concerning the substance and the procedure. "The Inquisitor of Aragon" by Murillo, which was knocked down on Nov. 18, 1981 is a large painting in somewhat imperfect condition. It was brought back from Spain under Napoleon I by Marshall Soult at the head of the retreating French army.

After auctioneer Raymond de Nicolay informed the Louvre old master department of the forthcoming sale, the department had the picture sent to its laboratory for closer inspection and indicated that it was not interested in

The buyers were taken by surprise, raising a major problem for French auctioneers and collectors.

acquiring it. Nicolay, who had given the painting a conservative estimate of 1.6 million francs, felt confident that the sale would proceed smoothly.

A bid was placed with the auctioneer by the American chairman of an oil company who got the Murillo at 2,095,000 francs — still on the cheap side. To oblige his foreign client, Nicolay then applied for an export license, as auctioneers will often do in France. More than five weeks later, he got an embarrassed call from the museum, informing him that the painting would not be allowed out of France. A few days later, he received a discharge dated Jan. 11, 1982 from the director of the National Museums Agency, saying that customs had been requested to hold the painting and deliver it to the Louvre, the national agency paying the auction price.

The procedure used in this case was not the right to pre-empt but a law that allows the French government to stop any work of art considered to be of "national interest" from leaving France. It was voted on June 23, 1941 when France, under German occupation, felt the need to protect its threatened artistic possessions in every possible way. The way in which it has just been applied suggests that as long as a work of art brought in France is not out of the country any unpredictable turn of wind can stop it from being delivered to its buyer.

According to informed sources, what hap-

pened here is that the southern city of Nîmes, near the Spanish border, wanted the work for its art museum, the Musée Rodin. The museum had asked the National Museums Agency to "pre-empt" it at the auction up to the knockdown price of 1.5 million francs (1.65 million with the additional 10 percent charge). Having failed to get it because the auction price was 25 percent higher, the museum eventually managed to gather more funds after the sale. So it still wanted the painting, too bad for the foreign buyer.

The same law was used a second time last December, although differently, in connection with an auction held at Englebert, near Paris, by the Campin-Lombard group. The sale included an important Chinese jar decorated in red enamel turned a grayish green, as often happens with late 14th-century wares. The base was slightly restored but, as the expert Minkley Beardsley pointed out, it is otherwise remarkably close to a rare jar preserved in Peking. It has virtually no other parallel.

Hours before the sale was scheduled, word came to the auctioneers that the jar would not be allowed to leave France. This came as a stunning blow. Not only was the jar Chinese, but it had been acquired by a civil servant in Vietnam before World War II, when Vietnam was a French colony. The auctioneers never expected a piece acquired under such circumstances to be considered part of the "national heritage."

This ruling meant that any foreigners who made the trip to France to view the object had wasted their time and money. In this case, however, the auctioneers were relatively lucky. Mrs. Jack Chia, the wife of the Singapore collector, had come to Englebert, accompanied by a well-known London dealer acting as her agent. She was warned by both the sale expert and the dealer that she could not export it. Her agent nonetheless bid for the jar, raising the final price to just over 2 million francs — less than the figure it would fetch on the international market but still a good price.

The latest information available to this writer is that the jar is sitting in the collector's Parisian residence. This is a stroke of luck for all parties — not every international collector has an apartment in the French capital.

The element of uncertainty, indeed of whimsy, in all three cases, regardless of the moral issues, is the most disturbing side to the problem and could have the most serious effects on the French market. The inclusion of art from the Far East, matched on other occasions by art from the Middle East, is the most surprising side. The pieces left those areas under such circumstances that collectors there should be left a legal chance to buy what is still held privately.

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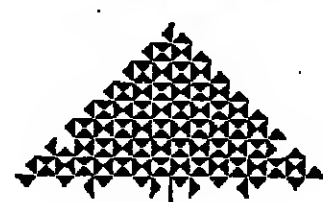
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Like Father, Like Daughter

by Max Wykes-Joyce

LONDON — In his "Journal," the American sculptor David Smith writes of watching Arshile Gorky "working over an area edge probably a hundred times to reach an infinite without changing the rest of the picture, based on [John] Graham's account of the import in Paris of the 'edge of paint.'" A similar meticulousness in the application of paint is one of the qualities inherited from Gorky by his daughter, Maro — other is a predilection for many layers of thin delicate color, and a fastidious and exact placing of each of the many components to any given composition.

Although she was a child not yet in her teens when her father died in 1948, "It was my father who made me a painter," she says. "Not by compulsion, of course, but by example. In his studio I was allowed to watch him at work. And he showed me how to prepare the paper or canvas, how to put on paint, how to clean the brushes. All this I learned from him, although I did not learn to read till I was 9."

That she learned well is to be seen in her first one-woman show in England (at the Wrayall Gallery, 25 Chelver Place, off Montpellier Street, S.W.7 to March 29), which consists in about equal numbers of medium and large oil paintings and smaller India ink drawings, pastels and gouaches. All but two or three of the oils feature people and almost all the drawings and gouaches show French, Italian and Mediterranean landscapes.

"When my father died we came to England and I was sent to the French Lycée here in London where I sat the usual examinations. And from there I went on to be an art student at the Slade School" of Art at the University of London. Leaving the Slade, Maro Gorky went to Paris, where she met and married the painter Matthew Spender, son of the poet Stephen

Spender. They now live "a quiet life in the country" with their two children, on a hillside outside Siena in Italy.

The Tuscan landscape around their home forms the background to many of the oils and is the subject of many of the gouaches. For example, in the painting titled "The Last Act" portraying a pair of operatic lovers, the ornate flowering of the girl's coat is echoed in the lush flowering field in which they stand, while behind them are the fields and hill villages so typical of the terrain.

The passion for decorative costume, one suspects, another aspect of Maro Gorky's Armenian heritage — Gorky was her father's adopted name, his family name being Adoian — since so many of the people in her paintings wear richly brocaded and patterned clothes. Yet she can be severe to the point of austerity if she feels it is artistically right to be so. In "Mother and Child" for instance, the Viking-blonde hair of the mother is stark against the block of her black dress, the child's jersey another block of glowing red against the black.

This painting, more than any other, shows a closer connection than would normally be supposed between the work of father and daughter. For just as "Mother and Child" though figurative, edges toward abstraction, Arshile Gorky's "abstractions" were not just plucked out of the air, but were shapes and colors abstracted from the people and places surrounding him.

One of the largest and most telling paintings in Maro Gorky's splendid show is "Connecticut Wedding" based on a 1911 photograph of the marriage party of one of her grandfathers, emphasizing the naive formality of the bridesmaids and ushers.

"I remained in Europe, after father died, for 25 years," Maro Gorky says. "When I went back to New York 9 or 10 years ago I was



Maro Gorky's "The Maronite."

surprised to find how completely American I felt; of how, though my subject was almost always European, I saw it through American eyes.

She mounts her first exhibition in the United States later this spring. One can only hope that New York will greet the wanderer returned with as much pleasure as her work has been received in London.

Around Galleries in Paris

by Michael Gibson

PARIS — Imagine a Latin-American temperament working in the wake of surrealism, familiar with the flamboyant art of

the Aztecs and producing paintings that seem to be crawling with Himalayan demons, part totem, part mandala, part composite portrait in the manner of Arcimboldo, built out of bones, insect limbs and mandibles — and you will have a

rough idea of the work of the Cuban painter Jorge Camacho, being shown at the Galerie Maeght (13 Rue de Téhéran, Paris 8, to April 9).

They are handsome paintings in mat, muted colors. At Maeght's too, but across the street (13 Rue de Téhéran) is an exhibition to April 9 of sculptures and drawings by Raoul Ubac, now 72. Ubac occasionally tends to be ideogrammatic in his approach, almost in the symbolist manner; his heads or faces are sometimes furrowed with patterns, but they display no special identity or expression aside from the attitude itself. On the other hand his carved slabs of black slate are much more densely expressive because, in a sense, the furrows that cover them seem to express the peculiar character of the material itself.

Slate is a recalcitrant sort of stone, full of a typically northern reserve and northern principles. Marble is sensuous and easy, but with slate everything has to be negotiated. This implicit character of the material comes out well in Ubac's work, which becomes a labor of patience and love.

The Galerie Jean Bricard (23 Rue Guénégaud, Paris 6 to March 27) is showing works by five artists, the most unusual of these, formally speaking, Jean-Claude Silberman. He paints his free-association figures on canvas, cuts them out, glues them to wooden panels, jigs-sawed to match, and then assembles them in colorful free constellations on the wall. The result is a wild and humorous tale or, if one wishes, a dream with its own idiosyncratic logic. Each work is like a cluster of threads, usually connected by a thread; as for the events depicted, they belong to some unnamed region of Alice's Woodland.

Jacques Brisset does complex collages, mostly blending familiar masterworks with elements culled out of contemporary magazines. It is of course an entertainment, and as such it can be uneven because the artist does not always resist the temptation of referring to current political events in France in an all-too-anecdotal form. The other artists are Michael Bastow, (large canvases that represent rhetorically elegant quasi-portraits), Christian Zelnart, who has, for years, pursued his single-minded darkly humorous monologue on the Paris Commune, and Hortense Dambrou, whose work seems to be moving away from her former, strongly romantic view of nature.

Galerie Jan Six, 6 Rue Royale, Paris 8, opened last month in the former residence of Madame de Staël, which was, until recently, the new gallery is being run by Gilbert Brownstone whose last position was that of curator of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. The first exhibition, to March 31, is devoted to works by Jean Desnave — big, machine-age paintings, composed of flat, hard-edge, geometric shapes done in blatant glossy enamel colors. A couple of "anti-sculptures" are actually pieces from a truck body, painted in the same manner and baked to a hard and shiny finish.

The Galerie Patricia Landau (14 Rue Guénégaud, Paris 6) is showing paintings, to March 21, of the last five years by Robert Elshoff. He invariably lays down an opaque black ground and then places a few musically well-spaced marks in white, red, blue etc. Significantly, at last year's FIAC he was represented (via a Texas gallery) by a set of floor-to-ceiling works that formed a closed space referred to as a meditation room.

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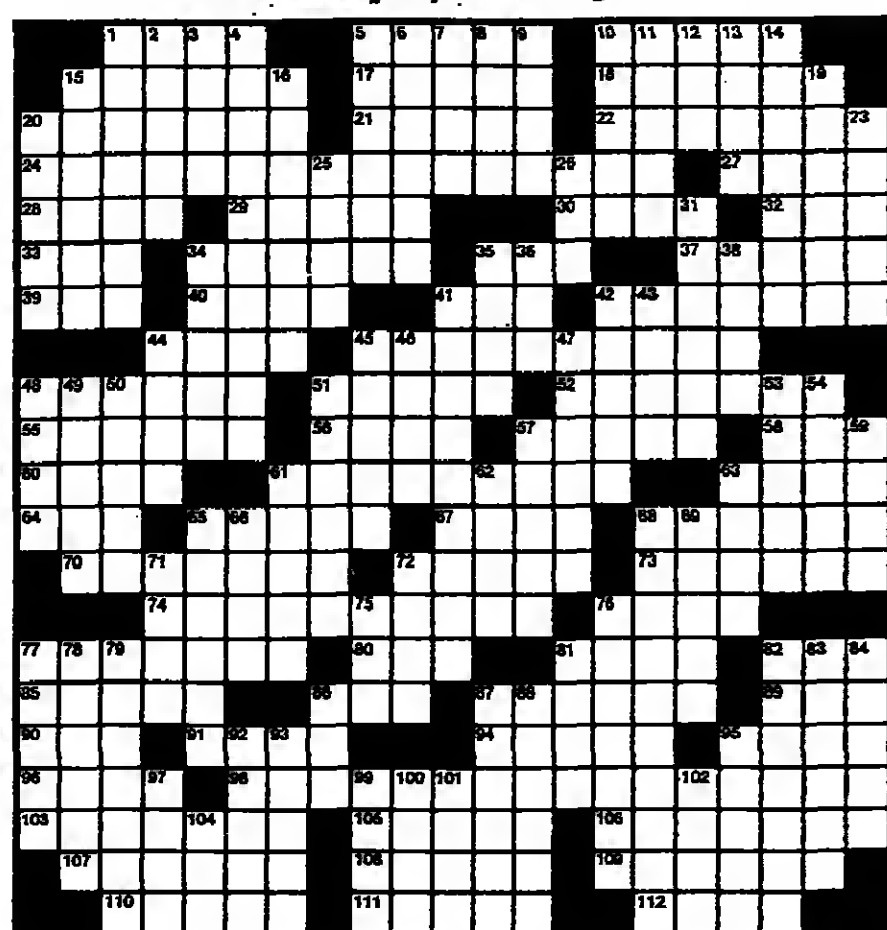
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CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Edited by
EUGENE T. MALESKA

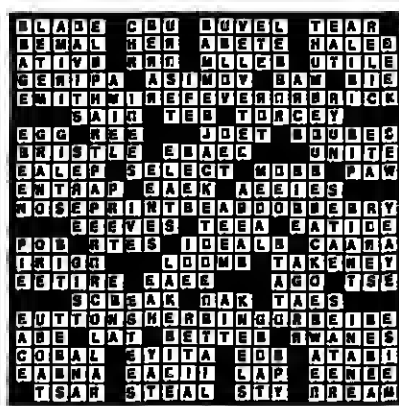
Granary By Fletcher Ingalls



ACROSS
1 Black term
5 "For..."
10 Understand
15 Betake oneself
17 A Lyon river
18 Lido
20 Gossamer
21 "rule"
22 I.R.S. quarry
24 Words from
27 "Free, fellow!"
28 Pileup
29 Bowling unit
30 Spot of land
32 Mrs. McKinley
33 Palindromic word
34 Kean's Daily
35 Corn Belt animal
37 Kind of beam
38 Curve
40 Army missiles
41 Tapayan
42 Indians
43 Cgs unit of brightness
44 Julia
45 Ward
46 Abundance
48 Acute food shortage
51 Faro cards
52 Warded off
53 Rubber
54 Signaled
57 "Lissa" Miller, e.g.
58 Marvin
59 "T's mother
61 Gravel, etc.
63 Boxer birds

ACROSS
64 Hollywood nickname
65 "card"
67 Sidewalk
68 superlative
69 Cut in two
70 Guillemot
72 Meara and
73 Jeffreys
74 Rence of the
75 Popish Plot
76 fabricator
77 White House
78 Family, 1853-57
79 Foreign plant
80 Seed pod
82 Kernel-bearing item
83 Farrier's need
84 Three in Torino
85 Sports results
86 Numero
89 Roman dir.
91 Apices
94 Astism
95 Roughage
96 Revolution
97 Device in a
98 Physics lab
103 Insects
105 Sacks
106 Sang lustily
107 Borate and
108 Upbeats, in
109 Gasket
110 Cultivates
111 Ennoble
112 Genus of
turtles

Solution to Last Week's Puzzle



DOWN
1 Lower, in a
2 Quickly
3 Luxuriant
4 Commonly
5 Feign
6 Falsely
7 Seethe
8 Within: Prefix
9 Raffle
10 Jaws and Zane
11 Gloat
12 Happy
13 Swards
14 Explicit

DOWN
15 Rodeo stars
16 Step into one's
17 Market figure
18 Peep show
19 Blows shaft off
20 A threshold
21 Where Mark
22 Twain is buried
23 Disposed
24 Cop group
25 Big Ten letters
26 As blind as
27 Slopes
28 "Young
29 Dream": T.
30 Moore poem

DOWN
43 Copycat
44 Steam sound
45 Quadrangle
46 Stealin' river
47 Shenanigans
48 Palpaté
49 Gallico's Mrs.
50 Shade of yellow
51 Darts
52 Puddor
53 Gentry
54 Loner in a tray
57 Flinching
58 Puma del
59 Little Eleazar
60 Wheelock
61 Unit of force

DOWN
63 "Sour grapes"
64 Unresponsive
65 Unresponsive
66 Kline's whisky
67 Taphum
68 Bell tower
69 Rhine feeder
70 "the fields
71 Darts
72 Duma yield
73 Cover, in a way
74 Earth's apex
81 Blessing
82 Uses remnet
83 Campfire

DOWN
84 Filleted
85 Against grain
86 Lavish
87 Flagpole
88 Poached racquet
89 Edgar or Oble
90 Karpov's game
91 Melville's
92 "Budd"
93 Foot follower
94 Lachaday
95 Type of evil
96 Run-of-the-mill
97 Meander
98 Author Deighton

WEATHER

	HIGH	LOW		HIGH	LOW
ALABAMA	74	64	MAINE	48	38
ALASKA	74	64	MARYLAND	54	44
ARIZONA	74	64	MASSACHUSETTS	48	38
ARKANSAS	74	64	MICHIGAN	54	44
CALIFORNIA	74	64	MINNESOTA	54	44
COLORADO	74	64	MISSISSIPPI	74	64
CONNECTICUT	54	44	MISSOURI	54	44
DELAWARE	54	44	MONTANA	54	44
FLORIDA	74	64	NEBRASKA	54	44
GEORGIA	74	64	NEVADA	74	64
ILLINOIS	54	44	NEW HAMPSHIRE	48	38
INDIANA	54	44	NEW JERSEY	54	44
IOWA	54	44	NEW MEXICO	74	64
KANSAS	54	44	NEW YORK	54	44
KENTUCKY	54	44	NORTH CAROLINA	54	44
LOUISIANA	74	64	NORTH DAKOTA	54	44
MARYLAND	54	44	OHIO	54	44
MAINE	48	38	OKLAHOMA	54	44
MASSACHUSETTS	48	38	OREGON	54	44
MICHIGAN	54	44	PENNSYLVANIA	54	44
MINNESOTA	54	44	RHODE ISLAND	48	38
MISSISSIPPI	74	64	SOUTH CAROLINA	54	44
MISSOURI	54	44	SOUTH DAKOTA	54	44
MONTANA	54	44	TENNESSEE	54	44
NEBRASKA	54	44	TEXAS	74	64
NEVADA	74	64	UTAH	54	44
NEW HAMPSHIRE	48	38	VIRGINIA	54	44
NEW JERSEY	54	44	WASHINGTON	54	44
NEW MEXICO	74	64	WEST VIRGINIA	48	38
NEW YORK	54	44	WISCONSIN	54	44
NORTH CAROLINA	54	44	WYOMING	54	44
NORTH DAKOTA	54	44			
OHIO	54	44			
OKLAHOMA	54	44			
OREGON	54	44			
PENNSYLVANIA	54	44			
RHODE ISLAND	48	38			
SOUTH CAROLINA	54	44			
SOUTH DAKOTA	54	44			
TENNESSEE	54	44			
TEXAS	74	64			
UTAH	54	44			
VIRGINIA	54	44			
WASHINGTON	54	44			
WEST VIRGINIA	48	38			
WISCONSIN	54	44			
WYOMING	54	44			

BOOKS

THE KENNEDY IMPRISONMENT

A Meditation on Power
By Garry Wills. 310 pp. \$14.95.

Atlantic/Little-Brown, 34 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02106.

Reviewed by John Leonard

NO WONDER Garry Wills quotes so often from Norman Mailer and Murray Kempton. Like them, he is a sort of intellectual outlaw. He brings strange books—by Machiavelli, Hummel, Clausewitz, Tolstoy and Veblen—to bear on the quotidian. His soul may be full of what John Cheever calls an "unrequited melancholy," but his style, even as it seeks to extol American institutions, has a bandit's flair; it wears a romantic beret.

In "The Kennedy Imprisonment," Wills would "deconstruct" Camelot. Camelot, in his opinion, "was the opium of the intellectuals." John F. Kennedy inherited from his father "no ideology but achievement," and made of his brief presidency a kind of Hollywood version of a fictitious Whig England starring "aristocratic rakes," "inspired amateurs," and "gentlemen saviors of their country."

These rakes, amateurs and saviors included professors from Harvard and Yale and mobsters from Chicago and Las Vegas. The court they served was "based on the special gifts of a single ruler" whose "cult of courage" led him to "delegitimate government." Enjoying power, a macho president would subvert the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ordain a Bay of Pigs, a Cuban missile crisis and a Vietnam complete with Green Berets.

Camelot 'Chicken'

If Richard Nixon was obsessed by the Kennedys, then, according to Wills, the Kennedys were obsessed by Fidel Castro; Camelot was a game of chicken. If the "honorary Kennedys"—name your favorite historian and your most loyal, congenial "goat," bought Veblen described as "charismatic," then charisma degenerated into "totalitarianism, protecting the sacred object as an endangered relic, out rallying to it as the center of an active leadership."

Wills is talking oow about Edward Kennedy, whose campaign for the presidency in 1980 was doomed because he wasn't as tough, or witty, as either of his older brothers and because "his life was a constant labor with death." Teddy couldn't be the "prince" so adored by the "honorary Kennedys"; he went to Chappaquiddick in the first place. Wills suggests, not for an orgy but because he was "compelled to attend, it was part of his extended death watch or permanent floating itch wake." The "boiler-room girls" Chappaquiddick, after all, had worked for Bobby and deserved an anniversary celebration. Teddy was the totem.

As for "Bobby," who hated to be called Bobby, Wills is kind and severe at the same time. Robert Kennedy moved from right to left on social issues, much as Wills himself has moved. In the mirror, they are equally sincere. Would Jack have had breakfast with Cesar Chavez? Wills thinks Jack would not and should have. After the Dallas assassination, Bobby's "was not only a government in exile, but also a kind of revolution in the hills, his own personal Sierra Maestra."

Castro, again. If Camelot hadn't been a movie, it would have been a ovel, conspired at by John Buchan and D.H. Lawrence and Ian Fleming, full of history and sex and "personal authority." Kennedy's like Wills, wear berets (Jack wanted Warren Beatty to play the Jack-part in the movie version of "T.T.-101" Beatty declined.) Teddy has made his best speeches in the peculiar light of knowing that he

would lose. Wills is willing to admire a failed prince, so long as the prince is guaranteed to fail.

His point is that "charismatic" leaders inevitably fail; that government, necessarily sluggish, is preferable to mountains full of guerrillas, where the berets—a radical-chic purple these days in El Salvador—are so many M&Ms; that sanction and legitimacy belong to institutions and not to those individuals who would, heroically, break the rules and then, after establishing libraries, romanticize rule-breaking. On the whole, Wills prefers Dwight D. Eisenhower. He likes him because he didn't enjoy himself as president; he was dutiful and committee-minded; there were no guerrillas in his mountains.

This preference puts Wills in an odd position: perhaps he can only be comfortable in a position that is odd. Like, after all, invaded Lebanon, subverted Iran and Guatemala, and fiddled unsuccessfully with Indonesia and the Congo. Wills excuses him because he didn't brag about it. He will not excuse the Kennedys, much as he sympathizes with Teddy and identifies with Bobby, because they were over; they turned politics into "High Noon," and every president since Jack has wanted to be Gary Cooper; with a Sinatra instead of a Chavez for breakfast. Except for the CIA and the FBI Wills likes bureaucracy. He wants John F. Kennedy to have been Martin Luther King, Jr.

If, since JFK, American politics have been merely symbolic, what about the symbolic politics of other countries? Wills is surprisingly parochial. If, since JFK, "counterinsurgency" is glamorous and American, how do we explain the French in Indochina and Algeria, their parachutes and their berets? Wills is silent. If, since JFK the United States has played global chicken, name the game of the Soviet Union? Wills seems to think that we invented charisma; never mind the subversions of a Moscow gunboat. If, since JFK, there have been social revolutions among blacks and women, why not assign some credit to that Kennedy charisma? Wills would say those revolutions were "inadvertent." One wonders whether, instead, a certain amount of symbolic politics unclogs the social drain.

Wills has wonderful things to say on Eugene McCarthy, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, David Cecil, "libidinous imperialism" and Addiso's disease. His problem, after monographs on everything from Roman culture to Catholic malaise to American civil rights, is that he permits only himself to be the Augustan renegade, an outlaw who would kill his own, various fathers with a brilliant book.

John Leonard is on the staff of The New York Times.

Statue, Flagpole OK'd For Vietnam Memorial

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Interior Secretary James Watt, apparently breaking a deadlock over design, has approved adding a statue and a flagpole to the controversial Vietnam Veterans Memorial, a spokesman says.

The proposed memorial, between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial, will consist of two long walls of black granite with inscriptions in the shape of a "V" and bearing the names of 57,000 Americans killed and missing in Vietnam.

PEANUTS



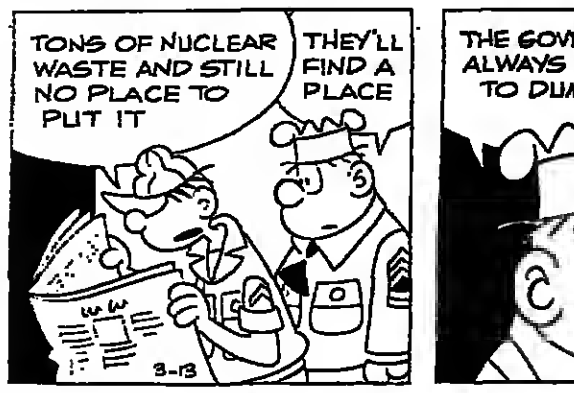
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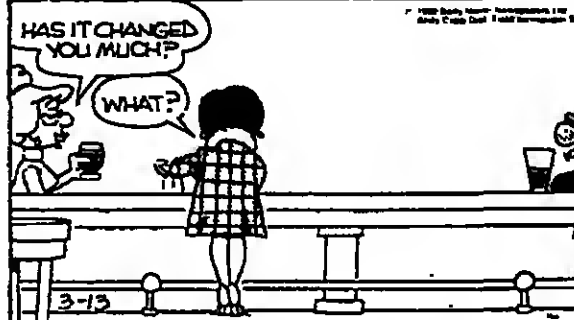
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BEETLEBAILEY



ANDY CAPP



WIZARD OF ID



REX MORGAN



DOONESBURY



JUMBLE

That Scrambled Word Game

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

EAGUG

CAUZE

TAWLZ

WALIZ

BELMIN

NOBLE

GUSINE

SWEONG

Answer: THE

Yesterday's Jumbles: PAPER CABLE FACING ISLAND

Answer: It's not completely a "collapse"—just this—A "LAPSE"

Imprimé par P.I.O. - 1, Boulevard Ney 75018 Paris

DENNIS THE MENACE

Date

I told you he'd call back if you just sat tight!

YOU NEED TO BIDE YOUR TIME TO PLAY THIS.

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Answer: THE

Yesterday's Jumbles: PAPER CABLE FACING ISLAND

Answer: It's not completely a "collapse"—just this—A "LAPSE"

Imprimé par P.I.O. - 1, Boulevard Ney 75018 Paris

I'M AFRAID OUR 'BABY' HAS GONE FROM LULLABYES TO ALIBIS.

Amusing

A

al ING, GAWA IMESH

A

A

A

A

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A

A

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Color Seaver Red and Bench Green

TAMPA, Fla. — A split squad of Pittsburgh Pirates bombed Tom Seaver, the veteran Cincinnati pitcher, en route to a 13-7 exhibition victory Thursday, but the Reds' manager, John McNamara, was not worried.

"I don't concern myself with pitchers until they've been out twice," McNamara said. "The third time they start, I really start evaluating them."

Seaver, who led the National League with an .875 winning percentage last year, was making his first start of the exhibition season. He was hit for 10 runs on 11 hits in just two innings of work.

Bench at Third

The Pirates capped an eight-run burst when pitcher Rick Rhoden hit a two-run homer. Rafael Belandier, a non-roster invitee, and minor-leaguer Jimmy Smith each had two-run homers in the first inning. Tony Pena hit a two-run homer off Seaver in the second inning.

Watching Johnny Bench play third base, meanwhile, brought back memories of Pepper Martin, who played for the old St. Louis Cardinals' Gas House Gang. Pepper's best position was the outfield, but he would try anything — including third base.

Whatever he could not grab, he would knock down with some part of his body, usually then

throwing the runner out. Whenever he was asked when he figured on going back to the outfield, he would laugh and say: "I'm going to play third just so long as my chest holds out."

Last year Bench told the Reds he was tired of catching after playing that position for 13 years. He caught more games than any reliever in history except Al Lopez, and he won the National League's Most Valuable Player award twice at that position. He was selected to 13 All-Star teams and participated in four World Series.

The idea of leaving home plate did not go over well with management but it gave Bench a chance to play first base. He was doing all right there until he fractured his left ankle sliding into second base in May. He returned to the lineup in September and wound up the year hitting .309, his best mark ever.

Although he is too young to

Exhibition Baseball

Pittsburgh (SS) 13, Cincinnati 7
Los Angeles 5, Atlanta 4
Philadelphia 12, Toronto 10
Kansas City 4, Montreal 3
Boston 4, Chicago (AL) 2
Detroit 4, Minnesota 3
Baltimore 2, Texas 0
Chicago (NL) 1, San Francisco 3
San Diego 1, California 0
Milwaukee 4, Oakland 3
Seattle 1, Cleveland 1, 12 innings

have seen Pepper Martin play. Bench knows all about him, having read about the hero of the Cardinals' 1931 World Series victory over the Philadelphia A's.

"I'm going to get some bad hops and they're going to get me," Bench said without showing much concern. "I'm confident I'm going to face some tough plays. I think I can handle the situation. I like playing third base. I don't think I'll ever catch anymore. At least, I hope it doesn't come to that."

"I'll be out in front of a lot of balls, too, but you have to bear in mind they didn't play on Astro turf in Pepper Martin's time. Now that they do, with the way these guys get down to first base, you can knock down those balls they hit to you and still not be able to throw them out. What I'm trying to say is that the idea is to catch the ball cleanly if you can."

Help From Concepcion

Dave Concepcion, the Reds' All-Star shortstop, has been especially helpful to Bench.

In the Reds' spring training opener Wednesday against the Pirates in Bradenton, Fla., Bench got his first chance in the second inning. He went into the hole to grab Willie Montanez's sharply hit two-bouncer and threw him out at first. "That's one," Concepcion encouraged him. "I'm going to count 'em this year."

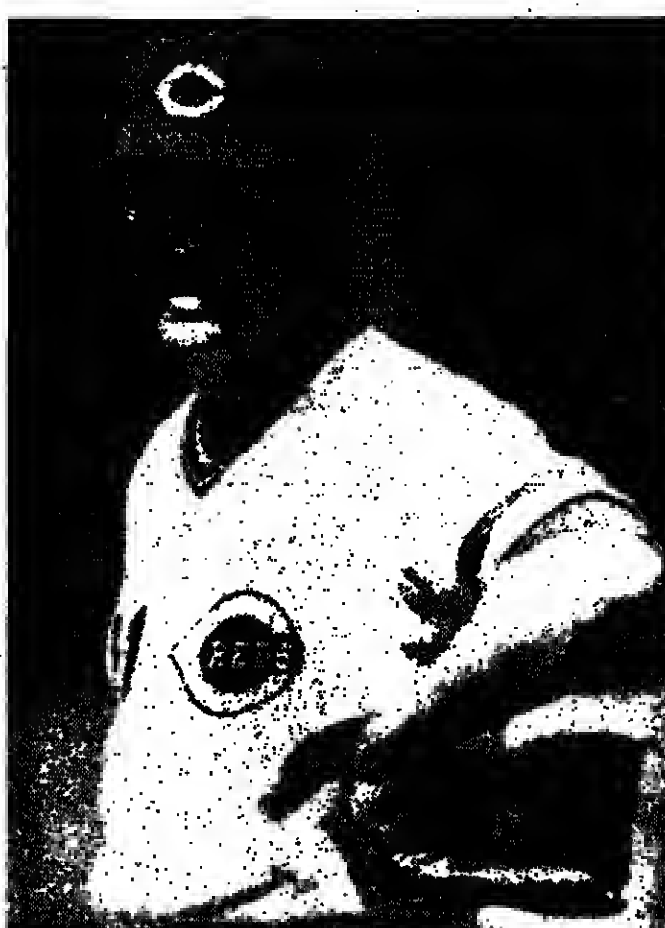
Bench got his next chance in the fifth. The ball was hit into the hole again, this time by Enrique Romo, the Pirate reliever, and once again he made the play to first for the putout.

In other spring training news:

• At Mesa, Ariz., Ferguson Jenkins, who rejoined the Chicago Cubs as a free agent last winter, made his career League debut Thursday and picked up the victory in the Cubs' 8-3 decision over the San Francisco Giants. Jenkins worked three innings, allowing only a walk while striking out three.

• At Miami, the Baltimore Orioles defeated the Texas Rangers, 2-0, but starting pitcher Steve Stone was forced out of the game with a relapse of an elbow injury that sidelined him for most of last year. Stone pitched two hitless innings before leaving with what was described as tendinitis.

• At Fort Lauderdale, heavy rains that fell all night curtailed the New York Yankees' off-day workout to running and calisthenics. But there was good news in camp as Ken Griffey reported that his knee felt fine the day after making his first official start for the Yankees.



Tom Seaver looks displeased after Rick Rhoden's home run.

Stargell to Retire After 1982 Season

By Joseph Durso

New York Times Service

BRADENTON, Fla. — Willie Stargell, who turned 41 last week, has confirmed that this, his 21st season, will be his last in the major leagues.

He said Thursday: "I look at my career and I feel like a good meal. Right now, I feel I'm on the dessert."

Stargell, who has spent his entire career with the Pittsburgh Pirates, savored his dessert even more before the sunny afternoon ended. Playing first base against the New York Mets for five innings, he singled off the right-field wall in the first inning against Neil Allen and hit a two-run home run over the wall in the fifth against Jesse Orosco.

An Old Story

This was an old story for the Mets because Stargell has hit 59 of his 472 regular-season home runs against them, more than any other player in the big leagues. But this was also a new season for the Mets, who opened their 25-game exhibition schedule by losing to the Pirates, 8-7.

For the Pirates, who have collapsed since winning the World Series in 1979, there were two scoreless innings each from John Candalaria and Don Robinson. Chuck Tanner, the Pirate manager, pampers his pitchers at the start of spring training by working them only two innings at a time. And against the Mets, he got good glimmers from Candalaria, who tore the bicep in his left arm last May and pitched only 41 innings all year, and Robinson, who underwent shoulder surgery last fall after pitching only 38 innings.

"If Candalaria and Robinson are healthy," Tanner said, "we're contenders. If not, we're hurting."

"There's some age on this team since we won the Series," said Harding Peterson, the executive vice president. "But injuries made the difference, not age."

Are the Pirates still trying to



Willie Stargell...savoring dessert.

says he has lost more than 20 pounds. Parker avoids stepping on scales in the clubhouse, but recently reported: "I'm 227 now." On Thursday, he said, "I feel great, and I'm ready to go," and then hit a scoring double off Orosco.

"I'll trade anybody but Willie Stargell," said Peterson, when asked about Parker's future.

Stargell's home run was unusual because he did not play last spring, then hit no home runs during the strike-split season, in which he appeared mostly as a pinch-hitter.

"This is it," he said, repeating his intention to retire. "My last year. But nature doesn't let you know in advance how you'll react, so I don't know yet what my emotions will be when I walk away."

"I'm not hung on statistics, like hitting 500 home runs."

He laughed and added: "Or like stealing 20 bases. I've got 17 in 20 years."

"It's like Shakespeare said: 'To thine own self be true.' I'm healthy, and I'd just like to see what I can do this one last time."

"Willie has a lifetime job with the Pirates," Tanner said. "Who else can say that?"

Officials Seek Ways for Borg To Avoid Qualifying Matches

From Agency Dispatches

LONDON — Tennis officials are still working on ways to allow Bjorn Borg to play in the Wimbledon and French championships without qualifying, but no decision will be made until April.

Borg has refused to sign a commitment to play a minimum of 10 tournaments, which according to Grand Prix rules means that he has to qualify for major tournaments, including Wimbledon, which he has won five times, and the French Open, which he has won six times.

The management committee of the All England championships discussed the problem Thursday night, but reached no conclusion. There will be further discussion when European tournament directors meet in Brussels on Saturday, but it is understood that no decision will be made until next month, after Wimbledon officials have had meetings with representatives of both the French and U.S. Opens.

If Borg is forced to play in the qualifying tournament, however, he will do so behind closed doors, Wimbledon secretary Chris Goring said Friday.

In Monte Carlo, meanwhile, Borg has begun training for his comeback to the professional tennis circuit after a 5-month break, the Monte Carlo Open in April.

"He's already very sharp and in great form," said his Italian training partner, Gianni Orsello. "His only problem is concentration, which still gives him trouble at certain moments."

To get in shape for the mental duress of competition, Borg will play in two exhibitions, March 23 and 24, in Copenhagen.

Jaeger Defaults; Streak Ends at 12

United Press International

DALLAS — JoAnne Russell ended Andrea Jaeger's winning streak at 12 matches Thursday night with a 6-3, 2-1 victory in a women's tennis tournament.

Jaeger was forced to quit in the second set because of muscle pulls in both legs. Russell pulled off several drop shots and, on the last three, Jaeger was unable to move to the ball.

Top-seeded Martina Navratilova, breeder of the Davis Cup, Switzerland, 6-0, 6-2, to join Russell and six other players in Friday's quarterfinals. Navratilova extended her match streak to 21, currently the longest on the women's tour.

McEnroe Injured

BRUSSELS (UPI) — Top-seeded John McEnroe sprained an ankle Friday during warmups and withdrew from a Grand Prix tennis tournament here.

McEnroe, the No. 1 ranked player in the world, is expected to be out of action for two weeks.

Every Goalie's Nightmare: The Puck Stops Here

By Joe Flaherty

NEW YORK — Around the National Hockey League, when the conversation turns to goaltenders past and present, the tone of speech gleefully to awe. Goaltenders, like those who open soup kitchens in far-flung outposts, are viewed as either heroic or mad. For the most part, the goalies themselves do little to dispel the myth.

"They tell you they are 'different,' a 'breed apart,' 'misunderstood,' 'under constant siege.' They say only those who tend the oets can understand the fraternity. And like all closed societies, goaltenders have a rich liturgy steeped in sacrifice."

This season the lot of those who repulse the puck is even graver. In 1981-82, the average goals per game has risen to 8.0, an increase of a goal over the 1979-80 season. Billy Smith, goaltender for the New York Islanders, says: "The game has become more wide open. Many teams have forsaken defense for offense."

Even before the goal glut, Glenn Hall, who was Mr. Goaltender for the Detroit Red Wings, Chicago Black Hawks and St. Louis Blues during the 1950s and 1960s, used to vomit from tension before, during and after games. Terry Sawchuk, who broke in with the Red Wings and was in net when the 1966-67 Toronto Maple Leafs won the Stanley Cup, played 21 years with five teams. During his tenure he received 400 stitches in the face and head, suffered broken bones, arthritis and mononucleosis. He died at age 40, after being injured hearing around with a hockey teammate. He is remembered for brilliant saves; his civility, it is said, shipped out many years before his death.

Knowing When to Quit

Jacques Plante of Montreal and the New York Rangers was labeled a hypochondriac because he could not find a climate where the air did not cause itching, burning eyes and a clogged nose. Wilf Cude, who played seven years for the Canadiens, quit after he took an overcooked steak his wife had prepared for him and threw it against the wall. He said that between the time the steak hit the wall and slid to the floor he decided it was time to hang up the skates.

There are those (the college-educated Ken Dryden and the college-educated Jim Craig) who dismiss the goalie mythology as so much balderdash, but there is always the nagging addendum. Dryden, for-



Terry Sawchuk...brilliant, but dead at 40.

nery of Montreal and considered by many as the consummate modern goalie, says: "The question should be whether you are different initially, or whether when you become a goalie, a difference sets in. I don't buy that 'breed apart' theory at all. Also, the danger is highly overstated."

But Dryden adds: "As a goalie, you perform a highly critical, responsible task. You have the feeling your position has an enormous effect on the outcome of the game. Only a very special player in another position could feel the same. I suppose we have a heroic view of the position. When you're the last margin for error, you become more serious, more intense and individualistic. Like surgeons, we have little margin for mistakes."

Jim Craig went from national hero to the Atlanta Flames to a television commercial to the Boston Bruins to suffering a broken ankle in an accident at home that sidelined him for two months. He is working his way back to the big leagues via the Erie (Pa.) Blades. In pain, Craig spoke from his hospital bed in Erie, where he is recovering from another injury, this time to his back. He was testy about the popular conception of goalies, saying, "All that stuff is from the old school of thinking that goalies were the only position they could play. That's not true anymore."

Craig says that the lure of the position as a child was that he got

to play the entire game and he was delighted to be presented with all that equipment. In baseball Craig was a catcher, so it seems that equipment has aphrodisiac qualities for him.

Glenn (Chico) Resch, formerly of the Stanley Cup-winning Islanders and now of the lowly Colorado Rockies, probably is the most charming, glibly confident in the league, but he claims the prerequisite of the goalie's psyche is shyness. "All the goalies I know, including myself, were shy when they were kids," he says. "Most of them, like Glenn Hall, Jacques Plante, Tony Esposito, over change. I took up goal because nobody else wanted to play it. It gave me a chance to play with the older guys."

Resch's motivation to the net is echoed around the league. Most took up the position because their older brothers consigned them to limbo; it was their only entrée to the action.

With the exception of the plastic face mask (popularized in 1953 by Plante), Clint Benedict tried a leather mask in 1930 that did not start a vogue, modern trends in hockey have favored the attackers, according to Stan Fischler, the hockey historian whose love for the game started with roller hockey in Brooklyn schoolyards. His contention is that goalies are menaced in three ways: the legalization of screening the goalie, the introduction of the red (center) line in the 1940s and the advent of the slap shot.

Less Pretty

Lo the past, if a goalie was scored on when his vision was blocked, the goal was voided. When the red line was introduced it allowed the puck to be "dumped" into the attacking end, once a skater had crossed mid-rink, instead of the team having to skate or "carry" the puck across the remaining blue line. The slap shot enabled shots on goal from the same area.

"These rules took the beautiful skating and control out of hockey. Everybody thought the Russian team, with its precision skating and passing, was into something new, when in fact they were playing old-style NHL hockey. Today, most people will tell you the North American game is a game of mistakes."

Resch explains that as a small man (5 feet 5 inches), his job of expelling marauders is more difficult. "I think the ideal size for a goalie is somewhere between 5-11



Glenn Hall...a nervous kid in 1955.

and 6-1. Any bigger, and your agility is cut down, and the big guys like Dryden and John Davidson seem to dry back problems. Little guys like me have to come out of the crease to cut down the angles and jump around a lot to make saves. Being small, you have to be flashier to prove your courage."

Like all goalies, Resch's greatest fear is giving up a bad goal, a weak shot that for some inexplicable reason eludes the goaltender. Also, there is the dread of a crucial goal. Resch gave up such a goal recently to the Islanders with 47 seconds left, allowing them to break the record for consecutive victories. On a shot by John Tonelli, Resch was screened. "You can't harp on that," the goalie says, "because it sounds like an excuse. But it was so crushing."

Still, there is love among the ruins. "It's like living in your own secure little world," he says of the 24-foot square area in which he works. "The oet is your cocoon. You have your protective equipment and defensesmen to watch over you. It's a chance for a shy person to be on stage."

Resch says fans and other players expect the goalie to be in total control. "Even your teammates will chastise you if you show emotion after a terrific save," he says. "It's all right for them to dance all over the rink when they score, but a goalie should act like an obedient servant. They snarl at you. Just stop the puck."

Rugby Union Board Rejects 2-Point Penalty Goal Idea

LONDON — The International Rugby Football Board, which governs rugby union, Friday rejected a Welsh proposal to downgrade the value of a penalty goal to two points from three.

The board said, however, that there would be a comprehensive

study of the infringements which free kicks and penalty goals are awarded.

The board also extended the scheme for neutral referees so that next year a New Zealand official will take charge of two matches in the Five Nations championship involving England, France, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

South Africa's planned tour of Australia next year, meanwhile, was officially canceled because of opposition by the Australian government. Joe Lord, the board's vice president and Australian representative, said: "Our government will not allow Australian teams to tour South Africa or the Springboks to visit us. We cannot play them until we have a change of government policy."

But tours to South Africa by France in May, 1983, and England in 1984 were confirmed.

Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Union, said: "It is better that everyone comes to us at the moment. We have to put our house in order and we have complete autonomy to continue with multiracial rugby."

Hamilton Retains Men's Skating Title

The Associated Press

COPENHAGEN — Scott Hamilton made seven triple jumps in a brilliant display of free skating Thursday night to retain the men's world figure skating title. He became the first American to win the title in successive years since Tim Wood, who did it in 1969 and 1970.

"The first time it's fun," Hamilton said of winning. "The second time it's a job."

Norbert Scharmann of West Germany, the European champion who skated in a more flamboyant style, finished in second place. Brian Pockar of Canada was third.

Kristina Wegelius of Finland, who moved into the lead Friday in the race for the women's world figure skating title. She edged Claudia Kristofics-Binder of Austria, the European champion, to second place. Elena Vodorezova of the Soviet Union was third. The medals were to be decided in the free skating Saturday.

It was a close contest between Scharmann and Hamilton, who won on technical merit. Five of the judges gave Hamilton 5.9 marks or technique and two gave him 5.8. Scharmann did not get above 5.8 or technique, but he had five marks of 5.9 against Hamilton's two for artistic impression.



Scott Hamilton...a repeat performance.

NHL Standings

Wales Conference

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
NY Islanders	24	14	18	29	221
NY Rangers	34	21	7	36	282
Philadelphia	34	21	7	36	282
Washington	22	27	3	52	271

Adams Division

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
Montreal	42	12	17	79	180
Buffalo	29	27	13	69	292
Quebec	34	24	14	72	304
Hartford	30	34	14	78	324

Campbell Conference

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
Edmonton	24	14	12	50	245
Calgary	29	20	14	63	298
Vancouver	24	24	14	62	304
Los Angeles	24	24	14	62	304

Thurston's Results

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245

Western Conference

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245

Thurston's Results

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245

Thurston's Results

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245

Thurston's Results

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245

Thurston's Results

W	L	T	Pts	GP	GA
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245
San Jose	24	14	12	50	245

NBA Standings

Atlantic Division

W	L	Pct.	GP
Boston	42	.579	73
Philadelphia	41	.557	73
New York	38	.513	73
Washington	31	.424	73
New York	27	.369	73

Central Division

W	L	Pct.	GP
Indiana	42	.579	73
San Antonio	38	.513	73
Golden State	37	.506	73
Phoenix	32	.438	73
Portland	21	.287	73

Western Conference

Midwest Division			
	W	L	Pct.
San Antonio	38	23	.623
Houston	35	27	.565
Denver	32	30	.516
Kansas City	22	42	.344

